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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME V

CENTENARY SERIES

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EDITED BY

DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL.D.

SECRETARY

VOLUME V

CENTENARY SERIES

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

1925

976.2
M67p2
v. 5

Neither the Editor nor the Society assumes any responsibility for opinions or statements of contributors.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This volume of the Publications contains three contributions of unusual interest and merit. The first, by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, dealing with the administration of Peter Chester, the last governor of the British Province of West Florida, gives for the first time an informative and pleasing narrative of British dominion previous to Spanish control of the territory now included in the States of Mississippi, Alabama and Florida. The sources of information from the English Public Record Office, London, are printed for the first time.

The second contribution is by Dr. W. H. Weathersby of Mississippi College and relates to the history of Mississippi College from the beginning to the present time. It is an invaluable and scholarly study of the foundation, growth and work of the institution which fills such a great place in the cultural and spiritual work of the Baptist Church of Mississippi.

The third paper gives the history of the Forty-sixth Regiment of Mississippi Infantry, C.S.A., in the form of a diary by W. P. Chambers, 1st Sergeant of Company B. The original copy of the diary has been preserved in the State Department of Archives and History since 1905. The work of copying and comparing was done by Miss Ruth Polk, a descendant of Sergeant Chambers, under the supervision of Dr. N. B. Bond of Mississippi Woman's College. The diary is one of great and lasting interest and it is creditable to the gallant soldier who wrote it.

DUNBAR ROWLAND.

Mississippi Historical Society,
The Capitol, Jackson, Mississippi,
January 3, 1925.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introductory Note	iii
Contents	v
Officers for 1925-1928	vi
Introductory Note to Peter Chester	ix
Peter Chester, Third Governor of the Province of West Florida under British Dominion, 1770-1781, by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland	1
A History of Mississippi College, by Dr. W. H. Weathersby	184
Editor's Preface to My Journal	221
Biographical Note of William Pitt Chambers	222
Preface to My Journal	223
Introduction to My Journal	225
My Journal: The Story of a Soldier's Life Told by Himself, by William Pitt Chambers	227
Index	387

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PETER CHESTER

THIRD GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF BRITISH WEST FLORIDA UNDER BRITISH DOMINION 1770-1781

BY

MRS. DUNBAR ROWLAND

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

One of the numerous activities of the National Society of Colonial Dames in America is the preservation of historical material concerning the colonial history of the American republic. Coöperating with the National Society the Mississippi Society of Colonial Dames appointed the writer to make a contribution relating to the colonial history of the lower South to their library of provincial historical material now being collected at Washington. The present contribution containing a biographical sketch of Gov. Peter Chester is a continuation of the history of the British Province of West Florida, a portion of which now forms a large area of the State of Mississippi. The sketch of Governor Chester has been prepared after much study and difficult research. The letters and documents are presented in chronological order and these deal with the early years of his administration. This is my fourth contribution to the colonial history of the South, three of which were prepared at the instance of the Colonial Dames of America. The first treated the administration of Gov. George Johnston, the first governor of the Province of British West Florida, the second embraced the colonial population of the lower South, and the third covered the administration of Gov. Montfort Browne. The fourth deals with the administration of Gov. Peter Chester and will be filed with the collection in the Library of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America.

Eron O. Rowland.

Jackson, Miss., June 28, 1924.

PETER CHESTER

Third Governor of the Province of West Florida Under British Dominion, 1770–1781.[1]

By Mrs. Dunbar Rowland

It is often very difficult to prepare a full sketch of the early governors of the various colonies of America on account of the meager source material dealing with the lives of men whose public position at home was more or less obscure; and but for the record of their service in the colony of which they were appointed Governor very little could be recorded of them. However, being anxious to secure all the early background possible in enabling the author to present a portrait of one who served his country in the administration of one of its important colonies in the western hemisphere with so much intelligence and devotion for the extended period of ten years, the Director of the Mississippi Historical Department very courteously secured from both English and American historical repositories all materials that in any way concern the early life and career of Governor Peter Chester, third governor of His Majesty's Province of West Florida. We say third, since John Elliott, following Governor Johnston, was appointed Governor of the Province but died en route to the colony, which placed the administration of affairs for some time longer in the hands of Lieutenant Governor Montfort Browne.

From the limited sources secured from the British Museum in London we gather that since he was in his eighty-second year when he died, Governor Chester must have been born about 1717. He himself records in some of his memorials to his government that he had served his king and country over forty years; that he was appointed lieutenant in the army in 1740 and was present at the reduction of Bellisle and at Martinique, at both of which places he commanded a battalion. He further records that he remained at Martinique until the peace of 1763 and on his return to England his health was so impaired that in 1764 he was obliged to go on half pay. The printed Index to the Grant Books of the Diocese of Dublin shows this entry of a marriage license: Chester, Peter, and Jane Corcoran, 1754.

[1] The author has not had access to the original documentary sources covering Gov. Chester's administration later than May, 1773, and has depended on printed sources from that time to the end of his term of office.

The printed army lists show that he attained the rank of major November 22, 1756, and Lieutenant-Colonel October 6, 1761, serving successively in the Sixty-first, Seventy-sixth and Sixty-ninth Regiments of Foot. In the latter rank he appears on half pay until his appointment as Governor of West Florida. Some sources of information make it appear that he was appointed Governor of West Florida in 1772 and served nine years, but the original documents record that he was appointed Governor of the Province with its capital at Pensacola in December, 1769, his commission being submitted for approval December 22 and finally signed January 25, 1770. On the 9th of February he took the oath of office and sailed in the same month for his new post. He arrived in Pensacola and took charge of the affairs of the Province March 2, 1770. It is not known whether he brought his family with him but they were with him later at Pensacola.

It is largely on his correspondence covering a period of several years and included with this sketch that we shall depend for sources of information relative to his early service in the Province of West Florida.[1] The correspondence opens with a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in which he notified him of his arrival at Pensacola, at which time he assumed control of the affairs of government at that place. The correspondence at the very outset reveals a close touch with the home government and a knowledge of all the affairs taking place in both houses of Parliament, especially all acts passed relating to the American colonies. The colonial administration in West Florida, as elsewhere in the American colonies, was largely controlled by the home government through the Privy Council sitting at the Court of St. James. This body was a lingering branch of the old feudal royal council existing after the courts and Parliament had become clearly defined institutions, and its powers for the most part were concerned with commerce and the colonies. It was variously styled the Board of Trade, the Lords of Trade and His Majesty's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. It was an object of bitter attack by Edmund Burke in 1780 and became an unimportant branch of the government. Up to the very last however it concerned itself with acts touching the Province of West Florida.

The judicial system of the Province of West Florida was composed of magistrates supervising small districts, with a

[1] West Florida included all the southern region of the State of Mississippi. See boundary line in this sketch.

superior court and chief justice at Pensacola. This last tried all cases of an important nature such as murder, which the magistrate courts were not permitted to pass on.

Following the governmental plans of the colonies elsewhere there was a Council and Assembly, the people being very much attached to the latter as it smacked more of self-government than did the high Council; and the British here, though strongly attached to the Crown, were keen enough for all local self-government obtainable.

Quite early in his administration it is evident that Governor Chester was in accord with the home government in establishing and encouraging new settlements in the Province, especially in the Natchez country near the Mississippi, to which he promises the encouragement, countenance and protection of the government even to the extent of troops. Fear of a breach with the military authorities, a condition that had prevailed so disastrously during the administrations of both George Johnston and Montfort Browne, kept him cautious during these years but did not tie his hands in plans for the development of these settlements and he boasts with a great deal of assurance that he was upon the best terms with Commander Haldiman. When that officer informed him that he could not comply with his request to station troops at these distant settlements, very unlike Johnston, Chester met the situation with composure and compliance and set about giving relief to the settlements at Natchez in other ways. The Natchez Indians in that section had been so completely exterminated by the French after the massacre of Fort Rosalie that there was little danger of an attack by the remaining stragglers and the new settlements supplied with food by the Governor and his Council during the winter months continued to thrive. To this settlement about this time were added other English immigrants from the older colonies to the north, of which Governor Chester writes: "I have also received information that a large party consisting of a considerable number of families is now on its way through the back country to the Mississippi."

The Governor at Pensacola seems to have had their welfare very much at heart judging from the numerous references to them throughout his correspondence. Too, the settlement of the beautiful and fertile region near the river with English settlers evinced a high order of statesmanship in the administration of the affairs of the Province. The control of trade also up and down the Mississippi was of no small importance to the Province and to the Mother Country as well. The control,

too, of the river should war occur with Spain was a matter that greatly concerned him, making him anxious that these settlements should become strong.

His attitude toward the French settled on the Mississippi and along the seacoast in matters of religious freedom is in bold contrast with what a little earlier took place in the New England colonies, where intolerance was so bitter at times that it disintegrated whole communities and sent them straggling to new territory. The story of his encouragement of these first English settlers in the Natchez country is so well told in his correspondence that the author takes pleasure in annexing it as an appendix. The Governor's ideas relative to the settlement of the seacoast were also practical, but in carrying out this policy he had the barrenness of the soil to contend with along the Gulf shores. The French had small footholds in places here left over of Iberville's colonies and though, in a short time, from the colonies of New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas the English began overrunning the seacoast and entire Province, the fact remained, as Chester observed, "that new settlements cannot be forced."

As the administration of affairs proceeded in the Province of West Florida, it is evident that the same plans and schemes for colonization were being carried out and enforced as were in operation in the many new English colonies in America. The wide region of territory uninhabited except for the Indians prevented relations and identification of mutual and local interests with the older colonies, and this helplessness in the face of the powerful savage tribes surrounding them bound them closer to the home country. The prominent officials were all appointed by the Crown and a closer relationship maintained with the home country than perhaps had ever existed in the northern colonies.

Slavery appeared early in the Province and very near the same laws that governed this institution in the older colonies were applied here. There was an elaborate law enacted for the trial of slaves for capital offenses, depriving the Crown of any interference with the law in this respect. These laws had been enacted during Johnston's administration, and it was to Chester's credit that he asked that some of the provisions, especially that depriving the Crown of the power of reprieving, pardoning, or extending mercy in any shape to the criminal, be repealed. Whatever motive prompted Governor Chester in the matter, whether diplomacy, a pronounced sense of deference and obligation to the Crown, or a native and cultured sense of justice and

humanity, his views were highly creditable and conducive of a sound social growth and organism in the life of the Province.

So fair a prospect did the Pensacola capital present, with its outlying settlements beginning to grow and its commerce to thrive, that one sees with genuine regret even at this late date the menacing Spanish cloud that hovered in the southern skies, biding its time to burst upon the little colony, gaining a foothold in this coveted region. But Spain had her own ideas of her original rights to the territory, and being strong both at Havana and New Orleans, it was to be recognized that she would some day set her flag as far north as it was possible to raise it. She was amply provided with both troops and arms in her new possessions and had, since the early days of exploration, a full knowledge of the country. Her claims, too, from the explorer's standpoint, were well founded. Governor Chester soon became aware of the danger that threatened the Province from New Orleans, though many prosperous years were to elapse before it culminated, and many of his letters to the Earl of Hillsborough deal with this subject. His anxiety in regard to the condition of the harbor, the lack of troops and the general situation of the Province in case of an attack, evinces a deep sense of responsibility. Placing the Province in a state of defense claimed his attention early. In this, the Indian tribes dwelling so near had to be considered. But in the face of every obstacle success seemed to attend all his plans for the welfare of the infant colony. Early in his administration the Old Star Fort gave way to a strong fortress on George Hill, to which, with loyal pride, had been given the name of Fort George in honor of England's pig-headed, incapable ruler. The fine fortress had, built centrally within it, the grand Council Chamber and a depository for all provincial records, and here the officials met for their various duties. In the central chamber the august Indian conferences were held and all delegations received. In his intercourse with the Indians, Chester exhibited much kindness, self-control and wisdom. It must be recognized that the policy of conferring enormous quantities of clothing, ammunition and gifts of various kinds upon the Indians, had a salutary effect in keeping them peaceful. The French had indulged in this practice to a large extent after the massacre of Fort Rosalie at Natchez, and with the exception of Bienville's fierce war upon the whole Natchez race, during which he pursued them into the Chickasaw Nation peace was maintained. On the country becoming an English possession Governors Johnston and Browne had kept the practice up. However, it did not make for

healthy sentiments of friendship between the whites and Indians and Governor Chester soon found that the moment these presents were withheld, the tribes, especially the Creeks, began to grow restless at the presence of the English so near them. The heavy war being waged at that period by the Creeks and Choctaws against each other perhaps helped to divert the fierce Creek nation from war with the Province of West Florida, though much could be said in favor of the policy of this Southern colony as compared with that of the more northern colonies in its relations with the Indians. The Creeks were known to be a warlike tribe and easily incensed, but for near a half century the English had them for close neighbors and a tolerable state of peace was maintained between them.

Stragglers of every description, even at that day bearing the name of "Crackers," were drifting down into the new country from Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia in large numbers, and many of these who did not come with families and with the intention of making homes, were guilty of depredations and cruelties of the most horrible nature in their intercourse with the Indians through whose lands they passed, and along with the massacre of whole immigrant trains could be chronicled the brutal and wanton attacks by the white stragglers upon the native inhabitants. Governor Chester's ideas as to the restriction of all such lawlessness displayed wisdom and sagacity comparable with any governor of the English colonies scattered throughout America.

That Chester leaned to an intelligent method of intercourse with the Indians by means of congresses and other conferences, rather than the old method of keeping them quiet with a lavish supply of presents, is greatly to his credit, and that he succeeded in maintaining a peace with the savage Creek tribes that lasted beyond the English occupation of the country, indicated plainly that the friendship between them was based upon more substantial foundations than the mere giving of presents. Johnston's wild extravagance in this particular may have served its purpose but did not carry any beneficial effects with it, and one can but admire Peter Chester's ideals of government in relation not only to internal but what could, in a small way, be termed foreign affairs.

A register of births and burials covering scarcely a year made about this period in both the civil and military circles is intensely interesting, and who, at this late day, can say how many good families, scattered through Mississippi's population, are descended from these invincible conquerors of the New World,

who bore such good old English names as Anne, Edward, Catherine, and James, and such exquisite ones as Eleanor, Winifred, Elizabeth, Margaret and Judith, embracing many more of English usage. The author especially requests all genealogists to examine these partial lists of English families who had settled so early in this region before the Revolutionary War.

Governor Chester's letter to the Earl of Hillsborough dated Pensacola, 27th of August, 1771, notes a reappearance of the old trouble between the civil and military authorities that came so near wrecking the life of the Province during Governors Johnston and Browne's administrations, and the bland and straightforward attitude of Governor Chester in the matter seems to clearly establish his innocence of any undue assumption of power.

The religious life of the Province was dominated by the Church of England, the church wardens and vestry answering to the same officials who controlled these offices in the Episcopal churches of Virginia.[1] The civil laws enacted by the council and assembly maintained an unusually high standard of ethics and the laws were especially condemnatory of all licentious conduct on the part of the white men toward the native inhabitants. The constant reference to this subject makes it plain that there was much ground for complaint on the part of the Indians.

The correspondence between the Governor and the Earl of Hillsborough about this time is in marked contrast with that recorded of former governors, and the progress toward settled conditions of life in the Province seemed an assured thing even so soon as 1772. The highly interesting narrative by Edward Mease about this time of a journey through parts of this English possession will be read with the keenest interest by all lovers of the history of early beginnings of life in America, and the author is especially pleased to include it in the collection of original documents presented with this biography. It will be recalled that Bartram had explored the country in the interest of the Botanical Society of London and the two reports in many respects bear a similarity with the exception of the increased population springing up throughout the region.

Governor Chester's desire to see the Mississippi River country settled with a prosperous and protected population will compare favorably in forward-looking statesmanship with that

[1] Episcopalians in the South will be interested to know that Rev. Mr. Cotton, an English clergyman, was the rector of the Pensacola Parish until his death.

of the best colonial governors of America. He soon realized that the pine barrens lying near Pensacola and northward in the Province for many miles was not the kind of soil to feed first settlers, and that these needed lands that responded quickly and generously to cultivation to supply immediate wants. He shrewdly discovered that the rich and fertile areas near the great Mississippi would support a growing population with but little exertion on the part of the laborers and this fact, of itself, would attract immigration. His many references to the advantage of developing the River country to the west reveal real statesmanship, and but for the lack of harmony between the civil and military authorities which it seems, with all his poise and discretion, was to continue to be an inevitable condition in the English colony planted in the South, his policy would have averted many of the trials and hardships that attended the early colonizers in this region.

The very delicate question of securing larger boundaries from the Creeks in accordance with the treaty with this nation in 1765 came up for settlement. The survey had been made but with the slowly increasing population, little attention was paid to the extension of lands as the need for it was not pressing. The Governor, however, saw the approaching necessity for a clearer understanding with the Indians on this point and some of his best correspondence with the home government relates to this matter. A desire to meet in larger congresses or conclaves appealed greatly to the Indians as a native custom, and these conferences invested all of their relations with the whites with a certain dignity—bombastic and grandiloquent as it may have appeared to the English—that was both natural and pleasing to them.

The failure of the English at Pensacola to hold these conferences as it seems had been promised them, began to be a cause of complaint among them and, left with Governor Chester, the Indians would have been honored more frequently in this manner. The tendency on the part of the Spanish at New Orleans to cultivate conferences with the Indians and the information secured by John Stuart, the Indian agent, that Spanish emissaries were constantly being sent into the Choctaw country with friendly greetings to the natives, while it did not seem of any great moment at the time, was not lost upon the Governor and there is nothing stupid nor careless in his summaries of the situation in his correspondence with His Majesty's Secretary of State. In this particular Lieutenant-Governor Durnford was not in accord with the Governor, since the former seems to

have sensed great danger to the Province from this intercourse. Despite the fact that he was informed that the Spanish government had invited and entertained the Chief of the Choctaws at a large social function in the city of New Orleans, Governor Chester still relied on the friendship of the Indians and attributed—and rightfully there is little doubt—much of the restlessness on their part to the licentious and brutal conduct of the traders throughout the country.

Nothing could have been more diplomatic and promotive of peace and good-will than his conference with the Creeks at Pensacola, of which a transcript account is presented with this memoir. It was on this occasion that the Indians conferred upon the Governor the highest title that it was in their power, they affirmed, to bestow, that of Appallochicola Mico, which they regretted they could not do with more and suitable ceremony. Other noble titles in honor of their tribe were conferred, and if the interpreter translated their speech and sentiments correctly very little in the councils of men can for sheer beauty compare with their speech and deportment in this congress with their white superiors. The Creeks displayed a poise, ability, and a sense of self-preservation creditable to the most intelligent primitive races, and the great care with which they were approached by the English in such important matters as boundary lines indicates the great respect, be it the outcropping of fear or of admiration, entertained for this remarkable nation of Indians.

All historians interested in the social strains and type of the early colonial settlements of America will read with interest the Governor's letter dated May 16, 1773, several years after he had assumed the civil control of this far southern colony. From this letter one can get a clear idea of the daily increasing tide of immigration from the colonies to the north, attracted not alone by the enticing prospects but to be rid of the trouble brewing between the Mother Country and the colonies. These were fruitful years for the Province, during which there was a goodly planting of healthy, wholesome British stocks whose descendants were to resist the Mother Country in America's second struggle for independence with as much heroism as did the older colonies in the first struggle.

As has been noted, the French—all that had not been lured to New Orleans and Louisiana—had small settlements here and there, being especially numerous at Mobile, and the Spanish were in the future to come in small colonies, but the strong English tide from every colony to the north that kept pouring

in steadily before and after the American Revolution soon overran the country. In these early lists, along with the tide from the southern colonies, are found many New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey families. With the removal of the Indians from the central and northern regions, the immigration became almost entirely one from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia.

The official lists of the Province of West Florida contain the names of many able men, some of whom distinguished themselves later as American citizens. There were General Assemblies from the first, the divisions of which and the manner of conducting the affairs of the Province were about the same as that of the other American English colonies. Philip Livingston was Secretary of the Province in 1772-73 and 1776-78, which covered a long period of valuable service to the colony. Alexander McCullough held this office in the interval, covering 1774-75, and during the last two years of English occupation, 1779-81, Elihu Hall Bay served as Secretary. The office of Attorney-General was filled by Edward Rush Wegg. Clerks of the Council—the highest branch of government—were Daniel Clark and Francis Poussett. With as able and intelligent class of officers as England was sending to any of her colonies to guide its destiny, it is small wonder that the West Florida Province flourished despite the many complications that arose in the establishment of a new civilization in the vast and dense southern wilderness of America. As time went on the Assembly and the Governor quarreled about many things much in the same manner as colonial governors did elsewhere and though the people here were strong adherents of the Crown, democracy's seeds were being sown in the hearts of men everywhere and were continually springing up in unexpected places. The Province had electoral boroughs or precincts, but sometimes representatives attended the Assembly only when they thought it was to the advantage of their own settlements; consequently, much confusion arose at times in the public administration of the colony's affairs. Governor Chester in correspondence informed the home government that the people of Mobile "did not want an Assembly at all for fear that this might regulate the Indian trade and prevent their traders from selling rum to the Indians." He also stressed the fact that the members seldom attended the Assembly. However this might have been, he himself was held accountable for much of the dissatisfaction over questions such as terms of representatives and apportionment.

The great royal seal giving so much prestige to Governor

Chester's commission along with the title of Captain-General and Governor in Chief "in and over our Province of West Florida in America," defined the boundary of the Province as follows: "to the northward by a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo River where it unites with the Mississippi River due east to the Apalachicola." Stuart, the Indian agent, by the authority given him in the commission of Governor Chester lost no time in renewing and closing a treaty with the Indians for a permanently established boundary of the Natchez District, a region greatly coveted by the English. The trees of the wilderness, perhaps the most beautiful on the continent, served as witnesses of the boundary line and were still, silent testifiers to it when the Spanish took possession. The Treaty, however, was attended with a great mishap that caused much dissension among the Indians, the large amount of goods given in compensation having never been delivered on account of the approaching war with Spain. This crafty proceeding on the part of the Commissioners brought about a complication that took many years to adjust, if it was ever to the satisfaction of the Indians. More extended boundary surveys had always seemed to be a favorite scheme of the agent Stuart and it was even as far back as 1768 that he had persuaded the Cherokees to grant the extension of Virginia to the Holston and Kenawha Rivers. In the next year Daniel Boone was forging west into Kentucky. Settlements had been established on both the Watauga and Holston Rivers and out on this marge and limit of American life John Sevier was beginning one of the most brilliant pioneer careers of American history. In 1770 Wheeling was established and when in 1772-73 the British began seriously to settle West Florida, the Americans in the northern colonies were rapidly pushing down in a southwestern direction.[1] The great Indian territory intervening, it is true, remained a barrier to close fellowship, and it was by long and painful journeys that the two civilizations came in contact with each other. But immigration still seeped down through every obstacle to the favored land. After Governor Chester had been in office several years the granting of lands became very frequent though military land grants had been made in the region as early as George Johnston's administration, but was accompanied with very little occupation. The New England, Pennsylvania and New Jersey tide, bringing the Ogden and Swayze colonies from

[1] Holmes' Annals record that, before the summer of 1773, 400 families came from the Atlantic seaboard in a body by way of the Ohio and Mississippi.

New Jersey and the Phineas Lyman colony of Connecticut, came by way of the Ohio and Mississippi, but numerous parties from the western portions of North Carolina and Virginia came more frequently by land to the Holston and there constructed flatboats and barges at Long Island in the Cherokee Nation. These were roughly built out of the newly felled forest trees but they answered every need of a hardy pioneer stock that had become used to moving about in the vast wilderness. Pensacola, the capital of the Province, did not receive a great deal of this immigration. The pioneers, who were bent on owning land and establishing homes, soon discovered that the country near Walnut Hills (Vicksburg), Natchez, Bayou Sara and Baton Rouge were the real garden spots of what had come to be regarded as the Promised Land of America. Though all of West Florida was regarded as a land of peace approaching an earthly Paradise by these restless people who sought it for several reasons, perhaps the most powerful was to be free of the quarrels growing bitterer each day between the Mother Country and the colonies. Still the natural desire to accumulate wealth such as their more prosperous neighbors enjoyed in the older colonies was a strong incentive to people who were fast losing the feudal ideal of government and unconsciously imbibing that of democracy, which even at that day was filling the minds of humbler men with the dazzling prospect of "equal rights and privileges" with the most favored classes.

So the tide flowed steadily southwest into West Florida, passing the more northern frontier settlements, since the year 1772—known as the "starving year"—had given these a bad reputation which lasted for several more. It was during these years that it was thought to be at a risk of one's life to penetrate the vast interiors of Ohio and Kentucky, and while adventurous spirits like Daniel Boone plunged through the mystical gloom to see what lay within it, the more cautious took routes leading to already established settlements dwelling under the British flag.

Governor Chester viewed with much elation the coming of the better class of pioneers. There was much at this time to encourage him in the outlook of his colony. The Indian trade was at times a considerable one. The founding of the great trading house of Panton Leslie and Company at Pensacola was almost world-wide in significance. This house, years later, through an alliance with Alexander McGillivray, was largely under British influence throughout the Spanish occupation which was brought about by the capture of West Florida in 1780 by Bernardo de

Galvez, then Governor of Louisiana with his capital at New Orleans.

The exports in the years following 1772 brought into Mobile alone by canoe or packhorses were of a rich and varied nature. England soon began looking with much satisfaction on the trade that handled not only quantities of indigo and hides but other even more valuable articles. In Rowland's "Encyclopedia of Mississippi History" and in Hamilton's "Colonial Mobile" such important articles as timber and lumber made into staves and other useful building materials are listed. The export lists also contain peltry, cattle, corn, tallow, bear's oil, tar and pitch, rice, tobacco, myrtle wax for candles, salted wild beef, salted fish, pecans, sassafras and oranges. It is small wonder that Spain kept her eye on this flourishing possession which she secretly claimed but which with all its desirabilities was to her at present little more than a thorn in the flesh.

With the settlements growing near the Mississippi the cultivation of the rich lands was begun in earnest and the discussion of cotton as a main crop for the future was seriously taken up. In a small way the Arcadians over in Louisiana, wrote Romans, were introducing it and were making all of their own clothing out of the staple. Rude machinery for cleaning the lint from the seed was in use and with the hope that some descendant may be found to still be proud of the fact, we set down here that one Krebs of Pasca Occooloo had a complete outfit for ginning his cotton crop, from which pattern his neighbors soon invented gins of their own.

It was during this interesting period that the celebrated William Dunbar was attracted to the region. He had been partial to the Ohio River where he traded for years, but the southward lure infected him as with fever and a burning desire for a large plantation, many slaves and the growing of cotton, with leisure for the cultivation of the mind and enjoyment of all the delights of country life such as had been bred in the bone by hundreds of generations of lordly ancestors in old Scotland took possession of him, making of him one of the most distinguished country gentlemen of the South.

Coming down in one of the rude boats of the day his eye after a little looking around fell on a beautiful vista of land lying near what was then called by the English New Richmond (Baton Rouge[1]) and here he decided if he could make a satisfactory arrangement with Governor Chester to settle and carry

[1] This was the ancient village of the Red Stick or War Indians.

out his attractive plans for the future. For this purpose he immediately sailed down the Mississippi and around to Pensacola to pay the Governor a visit. Judging from the latter's keen interest in immigration it was a very pleasant and satisfactory one, but not yet through with his scheme Dunbar sailed in hot haste to Jamaica to purchase a large number of slaves just arrived at that point from Africa. It would make interesting reading had he set down with so many other things he preserved the daily method of breaking these wild children to civilization's yoke, galling at first but easy enough if the will and flesh would consent. How often did they stop to snare a snake or trap a lizard for consumption, or to get over a fence and continue to chop the weeds through the forest when set to hoe out a field as they often did in the older colonies will never be a matter of record, and yet the hand that by slow and toilsome efforts civilized them goes unrewarded while the selfish, undisciplined and to a large extent ulterior purpose that effected their freedom by the shedding of blood when patience and brotherhood could have accomplished the same results is set down as one of wisdom and humanity.

William Dunbar bringing his slaves home soon had his plantation going in the most approved manner, but later the more beautiful region near Natchez lured him across the river and it was in this section of the Province that he became famous at a later day as a successful cultured country gentleman who mixed learning with indigo and cotton raising, developing numerous scientific theories which he applied to his everyday affairs. He has been numbered with the foremost scientists of his day, and the Colonial Dames in America would do well to secure a full memoir of this distinguished resident of colonial America.

We have seen in what manner the Province of West Florida was settled. As Chester's administration continued, three distinct settlements began appearing as permanent population. Pensacola, the capital and headquarters for the military was—as were the Anglo-French of Mobile and the Mississippi River colonies—strongly attached to the British government, nor could many with the exception of a few in the river settlements be found even of the native born or what is sometimes called "second growth" who cared to cast their fortunes with the revolution going forward in the northern colonies. To the contrary, left more to the development of their own affairs than the northern colonies, little cause for complaint against the home government arose and there were all evidences of a genuine attachment for the Mother Land. Touching this point in the history of the Prov-

ince of West Florida under British occupation, we quote the following from Rowland's "Mississippi History" which briefly gives the part, slight it is true, that the Province took in assisting the English during the Revolution:

"In 1778 there was much talk of British and Indian expeditions from West Florida and Detroit. Hamilton moved out from Detroit and occupied Vincennes. Col. Campbell, sailing from New York, joined with a force from East Florida under Gen. Prevost, and captured Savannah in the last days of 1778, and soon occupied all the little Georgia colony. After this, Campbell was put in command of West Florida, with headquarters at Pensacola. His military force was a portion of the Sixteenth regiment, 'almost worn out in the service,' German recruits, Agent Stuart's 'rangers,' and such militia as could be raised among the settlers and refugees. For his assistance a regiment of grenadiers from Waldeck, popularly known as 'Hessians,' and some provincial royalist companies organized in Maryland and Pennsylvania, arrived at Pensacola early in 1779. In August they were forwarded to the Mississippi, in response to the urgent calls of Lieutenant Dickson, who observed signs of Spanish hostility."

A careful study of this period including Willing's expedition through the Province in an effort to stir up the inhabitants and induce them to give assistance to Americans in their efforts to free themselves from Great Britain does not reveal any open sympathy with the Revolution of a decided nature, but it cannot be doubted but that it was secretly there smothered in the hearts of some at least along the Mississippi. With the Revolution at full blast to the north, Spain took advantage of the opportunity to seize the Province of West Florida and led by the young and brilliant Bernardo de Galvez she began an attack from New Orleans upon the Province in 1779 and by 1781 had conquered every post in it, including the capital at Pensacola. On May 9, 1781, Governor Chester, who in his defense of the Province showed none of the brilliant qualities that had characterized his efforts in colonizing it, surrendered the capital. It is true that its capture was a failure that should be laid at the door of the military department rather than at that of the civil, but it is evident that the Governor, now growing old and doubtless wearied with conflicts and problems of every nature, had lost his fire.

After the occupation of Pensacola by the Spaniards in May, 1781, Colonel Chester and his family embarked for Europe, probably from Charleston, as he writes to England from that

place. He arrived in England in the early autumn, some time in September we gather from researches made in the British Museum. He was in London in 1782, -83, -84, memorializing the Government for support and compensation for losses sustained in His Majesty's American Province, and was granted his salary of £1200 up to June, 1783. His old age must have been spent in some degree of comfort, since, according to authentic researches made in the historical records of the British Museum, he died in his eighty-second year "at his own house" in New King's Street, Bath, December 20 or 27, 1799. The *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Times* do not agree as to the date within a week. His wife, two months later, died at Bath on February 25, 1800, at the age of 71.

The claims put forward for losses are among the Loyalist papers in the Public Record Office, which fact establishes his strong adherence to the Mother Country. These papers not only specify lands held by himself and family but record the depredations of James Willing's party in 1778 in "negroes, stock, farm implements, provisions and so forth." He also records losses through the Spaniards. That he was not insensible to the need of providing for himself and family other than in holding public office is shown in the fact that he had acquired a house, gardens and three fields near Pensacola, the last of which contain 1650 acres. It was compensation for these losses that he now sought, and the fact that he valued the Pensacola property at £600 and the large tract of land at £7180 will give the reader some idea of the value of property in West Florida at the time of British occupation just prior to its capture by the Spaniards. His long service to England as Governor of the Province marked a period creditable to both his ability and honor and several historians assert that the most profitable and promising colonial days of Pensacola were from 1772 to 1781. It must not be overlooked, however, that the capital of West Florida was headquarters for the southern military authorities of both colonies, and that the able commander-in-chief, General Frederic Haldiman, resided in the town a portion of the time, a fact that could but give it prestige in the eyes of the country. This view is also taken by the author of "Florida, Past and Present."

It is very evident, however, from the record sources, that notwithstanding the many trials, hardships and misunderstandings, Peter Chester was much the superior of both Johnston and Browne, and that his public policy was sound and conducive to the prosperity of an infant colony. In closing this biography, the author wishes to state that she hopes to add to this contribu-

tion from time to time carefully edited compilations of the remaining documents of Governor Chester's administration, which are very voluminous.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

Pensacola, 24th September, 1770.

No. 1

My Lord,

I have the Honor to acquaint you of my safe arrival at Pensacola on the tenth of August last, of the publication of my Commission and taking upon myself the Administration of this Government on the next day, and at same time to acknowledge the receipt of two letters transmitted to me from Your Lordships office by Mr. Pownall, the one dated the 14th of April, and the other on the 22d of May last inclosing several Acts passed in the late session of Parliament which relate to America, and His Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament on the Prorogation of last session together with a letter from your Lordship No. 27 dated the 12th June last, inclosing a Copy of a Report of the Lieutenant General & other Principal Officers of the Ordinance.

Your Lordship may be assured that I shall take care to make my representations relative to Ordinance Stores when wanted to the Commander in Chief in America conformable to His Majesty's Commands contained in Your letter and the said report.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord
Your Lordships most obedient and Humble Servant
Petr Chester.

Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola. West Florida / 24 Septembr 1770 / Governor Chester / (No. 1)/R 9 January 1771. / D — 1. / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

Pensacola 26th September 1770.

(No. 3.)

My Lord,

I have the Honor to transmit to Your Lordship here inclosed the Copy of a letter that I lately received from one John McIn-

tire, together with a Copy of the Deposition of Daniel Huay, both relative to a Settlement now forming at the Natchez within this Province—Upon my receipt of these papers I laid them before His Majesty's Council who were of opinion that the New Settlers therein mentioned should have every Encouragement Countenance and Protection that Government could afford them, and advised me to make a requisition of General Haldiman by letter written in Council for a party of His Majesty's Troops immediately to be sent up the Mississippi for their protection together with a few Barrels of Corn a small quantity of powder and shot, and a little salt, under the charge of the Deputy Surveyor of the Province, who should be directed to lay out a Township, and settle them in a compact body. The making of an application to General Haldiman of this sort, by publick letter I did not think so elligible a step untill I had in a private Character consulted him upon the propriety of this measure (being as yet a Stranger in the Province)—and whether it was in his power to comply with the publick requisition if made to him? For I was fearful that if such demand was made upon my first coming into the Province, and refused, it might by some evil minded people be construed as the fore runner of some future breach between the Civil and Military Commander's, which has already proved so very disadvantageous to the settlement of this Province, not that it would have had that effect, as the General and myself are upon the best terms, and I have always found him very ready and willing to communicate his opinion to me and give me every information relative to the Province that is in his power; but I chose to avoid every appearance that could have a tendency to create even a suspicion; upon mentioning this matter to the General he told me as I imagined, that it would not have been in his power to have complyed with my request consistant with his orders—one Regiment being thought proper to be fixed at Pensacola,—and that he could not risque the detaching of any Troops without special directions for that purpose from Lieutenant General Gage. My next step before I could determine upon this business was to consult Mr. Charles Stewart the Deputy Superintendant of Indian Affairs for this department, and to procure every other information in my power whether such a settlement would give any umbrage to the Tribes of Indians in those parts, and finding from my enquiries that the Lands at Natches are not claimed by any of the Indian Nations contiguous to the Mississippi, they were formerly the property of a Tribe of that name which the French almost extirpated, and the remaining

few do not exceed one hundred men, who are about one half incorporated with the Nation of Creeks and the other half with the Cherokees, and now so intermarried and connected with those Nations that they will not chuse to return to the Natches again, and that the Indian Tribes contiguous to the Mississippi could not be in the least displeased at this measure. In consequence of these representations and after having Collected every information in my power relative to the propriety of giving Encouragement to settlers in that part of the Province, I thought proper to comply with the earnest request and advice of Council in giving these people encouragement and supplying them with a few necessarys to prevent their Starving during the winter, the expence attending it will by the Estimate made by the Council be inconsiderable, and I have accordingly given directions for a few Barrels of Corn, a little Powder and Shot, and some Salt to be sent up to them, which with their own hunting will greatly help to enable them to subsist untill they can raise Corn for themselves. The Deputy Surveyor of the Province will have the Charge of these necessaries and directions to lay out a Township, conformable to His Majesty's Instructions, and to settle them in a Compact body.—I have also directed that a Message, or Talk from me be sent into the Indian Nations that lye contiguous to this proposed Settlement informing them that I am acquainted with the arrival of these people, recommending harmony among them and that they will live as Brothers together.—I have also received information that there is a large party consisting of a considerable number of families now on their way thro the back Country to the Mississippi, who it is Natural to Suppose will apply for Lands when they arrive, and for the like protection, and a little support at their first Establishment untill they can raise a Crop, for they cannot bring Provisions with them at a vast distance, thro' the Interior part of the Country to support them a long time,—during their Rout they subsist chiefly on Venison, Buffalo and game which they kill, so that when they first arrive on the Mississippi, they are with their wives and Children destitute of almost every thing, and without a little assistance from hence of Powder, Shot, Salt and Corn, which it will be unavoidable to give them, they will be driven to the greatest distress during the winter:—I know that the Contingent Fund was not originally intended to be applyed in purchasing necessaries for the support of New Settlers. Yet such are the distressed circumstances of these poor people now there, (as represented to me) that it would be want of Humanity to deny them some support, and I suppose

those that are on their Rout, and expected, when they arrive will be much in the same situation. As I shall take care that the expences to be incurred shall be very moderate I hope your Lordship will excuse my appropriating a small part of the Contingent Fund for this purpose. If I was authorized to give proper encouragement for the settling of that part of this Province which adjoins to the River Mississippi, it is my opinion that it would in a few years be filled with a number of useful Inhabitants. The Colonists settled on the back parts of many of the other Provinces find their Lands either so barren, or are obliged to pay such high prices for them to the different proprietors that many of them have been waiting with impatience for an opportunity of removing.—some have been buoy'd up with the hopes of new Governments to be Established in the Interior Country & directed their affairs accordingly: but as they will now find that His Majesty has not thought proper to allow of settlements beyond the Jurisdiction of His Provinces, they will naturally flock to the Mississippi, some down the Ohio, and others by Sea, the Soil and Climate of that Country having the highest Character through the whole Continent.

Your Lordship may enquire what advantages are likely to result to the Mother Country in forming these Settlements so far back?—what measures are to be pursued? and what Expences will necessarilly be incurred to give the encouragement that is required? By the best information I can collect the Climate on the Banks of the Mississippi is healthy, the Lands exceeding fertile, and produce great Quantities of Timber fit for Ship Building, and making of different kinds of Lumber. No Soil is more proper for the Cultivation of Rice, Indigo, Hemp and Corn. The Navigation for Vessels is very easy and practicable down the Mississippi, so that the produce of the Country may with great facility be Exported to great Britain by which the Inhabitants would be enabled to take in return the Manufactures of the Mother Country to supply their own Consumption and the Indian Trade. So also may Corn Provisions and Lumber be supplied to our Islands in the West Indies for their rum Sugar and Molasses. The Navigation up the Mississippi in large Vessels was formerly thought impracticable. His Majesty's Sloop Nautillus, and two other large Vessels that I have heard of, one of two hundred and fifty tons burden, have been up to Fort Bute or Manchac which is about sixty five leagues from the Ballise or Mouth of the Mississippi, this passage may with a fair wind I am told be performed in about ten days, but take chances in general or upon an

Average, in about one month, here might be a Port established and the Inhabitants at the Natches, and up the River as high as the Illinois might be supplied from hence in large Batteau's, and all the returns of the upper Country Shipped from hence, which would prevent our Traders from carrying their Peltry to Orleans that having been the Case, and so secure in a great measure the whole Trade, not only of the Mississippi but of the Missouri, and all the upper Country: Thus shall we answer the original intentions of Government in Colonizing viz. by improving and extending the Commerce Navigation and Manufacturies of the Mother Country. Should this Proposal be thought an object worthy of attention, Protection must be given to the first Settlers and their lives and properties secured from the outrages that may be committed by the Nations of Indians that surround them in the re-establishing of the Posts on the Mississippi at Fort Bute and the Natches, or at such places as may be thought most convenient for the protection of the Settlers and Indian Commerce. These Posts I am informed were abandoned in consequence of a report made by The Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations dated the 7th of March 1768, wherein they represent to His Majesty "that it will be in the highest degree expedient to "reduce all such posts in the Interior Country, as are not imme-"diately subservient to the protection of the Indian Commerce "and to the defeating of French and Spanish Machinations "among the Indians, or which altho in some Degree useful for "these purposes cannot be maintained but at an expence dis-"proportioned to the degree of their utility." Their Lordships confine their report to the Protection of Indian Commerce, as if it was not at that time imagined that Settlements of any Importance would be formed upon the Mississippi, for their Lordships were of opinion that if it was thought Expedient to settle New Colonies in the Interior Country, they would not recommend any reduction of the Military Expence. Notwithstanding the King has some time since thought proper to entrust the regulation of the Indian Trade to His Colonies, I do not hear that any Law has yet been passed for that purpose in either of the Provinces except West Florida. This Law passed in May last so that the Effects expected from it cannot as yet be seen but I should conceive it very difficult to punish defaulters in an unsettled Country when the Traders who commit these abuses are the only British Subjects that reside in the Indian Country, or at such places as the Trade is allowed to be carried on, and if it should hereafter be thought proper to confine

the Indian Trade of those tribes contiguous to the Mississippi to certain places, proper Magistrates may be appointed to see the Laws regularly carried into execution, and to reform those abuses that have been too frequent, and must affect the Commercial advantages to be expected therefrom, and perhaps in future tend to prevent the involving us in the great expence of an Indian War, but without protection we cannot expect that any settlers of property will fix themselves in the Interior Country who would be fit persons to be appointed in the Commission of the peace. The re-establishing of these Posts would also be a great Inducement to many of the French Inhabitants settled on the Mississippi, disgusted with the Treatment they have received from the Spaniards to come over to our side of the River, and altho they cannot be invited by me, yet if they come into the Province, take the Oaths of allegiance and demand my Protection, I can not refuse it them: and I think they should be allowed the same liberty of exercising the Catholick Religion, that I am directed by His Majesty's Instructions to give the Spanish Inhabitants here, agreeable to the Treaty of Paris.

If Great Britain should at any time declare war against Spain, the Communication with the Mississippi by the Ballise would be impracticable, while they kept possession of New Orleans, but I am informed that the Communication with the Mississippi by the Lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain into the River Iberville is very practicable for small Vessels, carrying about two hundred Barrels of Provisions provided the Ibberville was cleared of the Loggs &c that now stop the passage, and it is said that a Canal may be cut to let the waters of the Mississippi into the Ibberville, from a point above Fort Bute, on which the Mississippi strikes with great violence, and I am informed by a person that has lately arrived from thence, that the waters of the Mississippi when it is low, are higher than those of the Lakes, but these are facts I shall endeavour to know more accurately as I propose going up to Fort Bute if possible before winter with Lieutenant Governor Durnford, in order to view the spot, and take the level of the waters. I shall not fail upon my return of transmitting to your Lordship as satisfactory an account of our proceedings as lies in my power. Should this but be found practicable, or a Carrying place be Established there, the Troops may be supplied with provisions thro this Province without going round by Sea, and then up the Mississippi for a few years to come, and after that I should

Suppose at a small Expence by the Inhabitants settled round them, who will in so fertile a Soil very soon raise much more than is sufficient for their own consumption. The maintaining of these Posts and supporting the Troops that Garrison them will be the chief expence that will attend the encouragement desired. It will require an other Regiment to be sent into this province, part of which may be Stationed at these Posts on the Mississippi, and the remaining part at Mobile, or in such parts of the Province where they will be most useful; as it is thought proper to keep one regiment at Pensacola it will be necessary more Troops should be sent here to supply the place of part of the 31st Regiment, who expect to go home in the Spring.— These Troops with such an addition to the Contingent Fund, as might enable me for one or two years to assist the Infant settlers, who first come destitute, with a very few necessarys to prevent their being driven into great distress, and to give Premiums or County's on such kinds of their produce as your Lordship may think expedient & sufficient to answer the end designed. There may be some of the present Settlers at the Natches mentioned in the inclosed Deposition that probably are outlaws, and others of them who either could not subsist upon the barren Lands on the back parts of the Provinces from whence they came, or could not afford to pay the Proprietors such sums as they demanded, and were therefore induced to emigrate into a Country of whose fertillity of Soil, and Temperature of Climate they had received such favourable Accounts, in order to better their Circumstances, the most of them have little or no property, but such people can labour, and will make very good *first settlers*. If they are fixed in Townships and have protection, they may very shortly draw off many hundreds of those persons out of the reach of Law, that have infested the back parts of the Carolinas, Virginia and Pensylvania, for some years past, who might when Settled in a Compact Body be brought into some order and regularity, by a few good Magistrates among them. At the first it is very probable that the Magistrates themselves wou'd stand in need of Troops to assist the Civil Power in the Execution of the Law untill the Refractory had been severely punished, but in a short time by prudent management, as they would have property of their own, I think that they might be brought into order and decorum; and that their Children would become useful members of the Community. These sort of people however insignificant they may appear are the only Persons we can expect that will first attempt

to settle an uninhabited Country, surrounded on all sides by numerous Tribes of Savages, but if Government should think proper to give encouragement to such settlers, and Townships were laid out for them, properly protected it seems reasonable to imagine that from the Fertility of the Soil and temperature of the Climate in these parts together with the natural disposition for emigration, that prevails in all the Old Colonies, they would draw numbers of their Inhabitants to this part of the Province, among whom we are then to expect some people of *Real Property* who will have it in their power to make useful Improvements, by the assistance of those who had sat down before them, and would not themselves become the first adventurers, nor trust their property, untill they see that protection and Encouragement will be given to them.

The settling the Interior parts of a Province and neglecting the Sea Coasts, I know is bad Policy where it can be avoided, but such is our Situation that the Lands near to the Sea are barren and not proper for cultivation, those above Mobile are more fertile, but in the Summer Season very unhealthy—these circumstances joined to the unhappy divisions, and the distracted state this Colony was in soon after its first establishment, has prevented our being little more at this day than the Garrison Town of Pensacola, and I do not see any probability of our being in a more flourishing State unless some methods can be fallen upon to draw Inhabitants among us, and for Government to give them encouragement and Protection, altho it is my opinion that these Inhabitants might be more serviceable could they be prevailed upon to settle (if there was Lands proper for Cultivation) near the sea rather than on the Mississippi,—but new Settlements cannot be forced, contrary to mens Inclinations such adventurers must at first be Encouraged in Infant Colonies where they are willing to sit down, and hereafter some of them if they find it for their advantage may be prevailed upon to remove lower down and nearer to the Sea Coasts.

East Florida has had much more countenance and encouragement than this Province (perhaps we have not hitherto deserved it) and I am told they are in a very flourishing Condition, but we remain here, instead of improving, in much the same Situation we were in some years ago. I do however flatter myself as we have great Tracts of very excellent Lands, that if protection and encouragement is given to us and Your Lordship would deign to adopt and Patronize this Infant Child, that measures

might be pursued to place us in a more respectable Situation.—I shall endeavour to make myself acquainted with every part of the Province and then shall be better enabled to judge what methods are most proper to be taken in order to effect this end, and I shall not fail from time to time to furnish your Lordship with my sentiments and observations thereupon.—I have the honour to be with the greatest respect.

My lord
Your Lordships Most Obedient
and Humble Servant
Per Chester.

Right Honourable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola, West Florida / 26th Septembr 1770 / Governor Chester / (No. 3) / R 9. January 1771 / D — 3 / Entd.

John McIntire to Peter Chester

Fort Natchez, 19th July, 1770

"I make bold to let your Excellency know that we are to "the number of Eighty Souls arrived from Fort Pitt in design "to settle at Fort Natchez, and that from the back parts of "Virginia and Pennsylvania upwards of one hundred Families "depends on our encouragement to set out for this place: On "our arriving here we find the land exceeding good but are at a "great loss for want of the Country being settled to procure "the present necessaries of Life and safety from the Indians "who we find has disturbed Mr. Bradley and almost destroyed "the Fort: We most Humbly beg your Excellency's and Coun-"cils advice in our present state and we make no doubt we "shall be encouraged by the sending a party of His Majesty's "Troops to protect us and allow us any bounty that is usually "given to any of His Majesty's Subjects setling in this Colony: "There is among our number several Tradesmen who will want "employ such as Carpenters and Smiths, and as to myself I "have been experienced in most Merchantile and Mechanical "business, and I would be glad to serve the settlement in any "useful Employ. We are at a loss for a Surveyor in this Coun-"try which business I am capable of: I have all furniture for

"erecting a Saw-Mill and Grist Mill which I intend to erect "Immediately if encouraged by your Excellency and Council. "We Humbly crave a Copy of the Laws of this Colony to know "our duty and how to apply for Land. The Bearer Mr. Huay "sets out to bring his family and his Neighbours for this settle- "ment if encouraged by your Excellency's Answer.

John McIntire.

Copy.

Endorsed. In Governor Chester's / of the 26th Sepr. No. 3.

Deposition of Daniel Huay

"Daniel Huay of the Province of North Carolina being duely "sworn deposeth and sayeth; that some time in the Month of "April last being then at a place called the Muskingham River "which runs into the Ohio, on his return from the Illinois or "Fort-Chartres to Fort Pitt, he this deponent found there a "Considerable Number of English Families, Men Women and "Children, who told this deponent, and some of them he knew "came from Red Stone Creek in Pensylvania by the way of "Fort Pitt and were on their Rout to the Natchez on the "Mississippi in the Province of West Florida where they pro- "posed to make a settlement, or on Lands Contiguous thereto "which should be granted them: That upon the application of "Samuel Wells and John McIntire in behalf of the aforesaid "party they appearing to be the most Considerable and leading "men among them and through his great desire of viewing the "Lands on the Mississippi this deponent was Induced to accom- "pany the said party from Muskingham as a Pilot or guide "down the Ohio and so to Fort Natchez on the Mississippi "aforesaid at which last place the said party together with this "deponent arrived sometime in the month of July last. That "the number of the said Party when this deponent left them "at Fort Natchez consisted of seventy nine men, women and "Children and Eighteen Negroes: That they have brought with "them a number of Proper Tools and Implements of Husbandry "together with some Wheat, Corn, Hemp and Flaxseed for the "purposes of Sowing and planting. And also three Saws for a "Saw Mill with Cranks and Gudgeons and proper Materials "for Erecting both a Saw and Grist Mill. That during this

"deponents stay at Fort Natchez he examined the Soil and "Country near it, and that it is the best and richest Land in "his opinion and judgment that he ever saw, and he believes "will produce Indigo, Rice, Hemp, Corn &ca. most plentifully. "That on or about the Nineteenth day of July last he this "deponent, left the said party some living in the old Fort at "the Natchez and others encamped near it where they intended "to reside untill they should receive an Answer from the Gov- "ernor of the Province of West Florida to a letter entrusted to "this Deponent and delivered by him to the Governor of the "Province, which letter was written by the aforesaid John Mc- "Intire a principal leader among them, at the desire and on "the behalf of the other Setlers with an Intent to be informed "of the Terms and Conditions upon which Lands would be "granted, and the protection, Countenance and Encouragement "that would be given to them.

"And this Deponent further sayeth that various applica- "tions have been made to him from many of the Inhabitants "belonging to the upper parts of the Province of North Caro- "lina, Virginia and Pensylvania to view the nature of the soil "and situation of the Lands on the Mississippi and to procure "the terms upon which they will be granted to setlers and that "he is now returning to North Carolina in order to make report "thereof and to remove with his Wife and Family to the Natchez "early in the next spring and he verily believes from his own "knowledge that upwards of one hundred families will remove "from the Provinces last aforesaid in order to become Setlers on "the Mississippi within this province of West Florida provided "they have assurances of protection and Lands assigned them. "And further this deponent sayeth not.

Daniel Huay.

Sworn and Signed before His Excellency the Governor on the 20th day of August in the year of our Lord 1770.

Pet. Chester.

Copy.

Endorsed: In Governor Chester's / of the 26th Septemr No. 3 / 2.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 4). Pensacola 27th September 1770.

My Lord

I have the Honor to inclose to Your Lordship a Copy of a letter that I have received from Thomas Gallimore late Master of the Snow Florida Packet. The treatment he met with from the Spaniards near Hispaniola as mentioned in his letter is I think proper to be complained of. Some Gentlemen here who will be considerable Sufferers by the behaviour of the Spaniards have desired that I would represent this matter to Your Lordship, and at the same time to request that Your Lordship would give your assistance to such of the British Merchants residing in London who have also been sufferers and intend making application to Your Lordship in order for the obtaining of some restitution of the Cargo. I am myself a Considerable Sufferer by omitting to Insure my Charriot &ca which was on Board of her, but the loss I most regret is that of the Pictures of my Royal Masters which have shared the same unfortunate fate. I am sensible if Your Lordship thinks there is a propriety to demand restitution of this vessel's Cargo from the Court of Spain, that it will be done and every other assistance given to the Merchants that they have a right to desire.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Respect, My Lord
Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant
Per Chester

Right Honourable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola West Florida / 27th Septembr 1770 / Governor Chester / (No. 4) / R 9 January 1771. / D — 4 / Entd.

Thomas Gallimore to Peter Chester

Sir,

With great reluctance I send you this, as it is relating a very unhappy accident befaling us in the Florida packet. On the 19th June sailed from Madeira, and on the 16th July between the hours of 9 and 10 oClock in the night was surprized by the ship striking. All endeavours was used to get her off, but to no purpose. Where this accident happened is called the Island Savona and lyes off from the East part of Hispaniola to the

Southward about four or five leagues—there is no Inhabitants on the Island—my Carpenter went to work on the Boat to make her fit for Sea in which I purposed to go for St. Domingo in—as I'm very certain with the assistance of a vessel from there I could have saved the greatest part of the Cargo.

On the 20th Instant saw a Schooner off—I made a Signal on which they stood for the land, and three came on shore, two Spanyards and one Irish man: I desired their assistance which was promised—they told me it would not suit them to take me on Board of their Vessel that night, but they would come nearer to us next morning and see what was best to be done: But the next day saw nothing of her 'till the 22d saw her off with two more Schooners in Company, some of their people came on Shore they soon convinced us of their friendship, as they began to take from us what little we had then saved; but finding us determined not to part with any of our things then on shore, they returned on board their Vessels, which we found was to get more people and Arms &c at this juncture a sloop riged Boat came here with three Englishman in her I agreed with them to go for St. Domingo—the Spanyards Returned with three Canoo's armed with Blunderbushes Muskets and Cutlasses, likewise obliged us to go off the Island: which we departed from in this Boat, but blowing hard and having no Compass was put past St. Domingo.—On the 29th Inst. Arrived at a place called Jacamell on the Island of Hispaniola on which Island we have been from one place to another 'till the 23d of August I got a passage in a Brig from Aux Coyes to this place where we arrived with the Vessel last night.

I am Sir Your obedient unfortunate
Humble Servant to Command
Thos. Gallimore.

Jamaica Kingston
August the 28th 1770.

Copy.

Endorsed. In Govr. Chester's (No. 4) of / 27 Septr 1770.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 5.) Pensacola 29th September 1770

My Lord,

Upon my arrival here I found the House appropriated for the residence of the Governor in so ruinous and uninhabitable a

Situation that by the advice of Lieutenant Governor Durnford, and several Gentlemen of the Council I determined to remove from it, and to take possession of the House which has been Leased of General Haldiman for a Government House but has been appropriated for a place of publick Worship, Court house and the use of the Public Officers of Government, and have assigned the Government House for the present, to those purposes.

The heavy Sums that this House has already cost the Contingent Fund and the bad repair it notwithstanding appeared to be in, induced me by the advice of Council to direct Mr. Durnford as Engineer, together with the Carpenters and Artificers belonging to the Board of Ordnance to make survey of its state and Condition, who by their report here inclosed to Your Lordship have represented it to be in so ruinous a situation, that it is not habitable but in great danger of tumbling down.—I therefore determined to expend no more money on this House except a trifling Sum, that may be absolutely necessary to protect the Public Officers, who reside there from the inclemency of the Weather during the Winter.

I also directed Mr. Durnford to furnish me with a plan and Estimate of the Expence that will attend the building of a New Government House, which he has compleated, and I have the honor to transmit to Your Lordship hereinclosed,—the expence of this Estimate appears to me to be greater than what I imagine, a tolerable good House cou'd be built for, but I cannot pretend to be so well acquainted with these matters as those who by profession must be accustomed to them.

The House belonging to General Haldiman that I am now in possession of is said to be well built, but at present wants many repairs.—By the Tenor of this Lease which is dated 4th February 1769 Governor Browne for himself and his Successors, Covenants to pay an annual Rent of £100 Sterling in Quarterly payments for the Term of five years and that he will within three Months after the date thereof, and twice afterwards within the said Term Paint the House in Oyl, and if occasion require Tar the Shingling of the Premises and Out Houses Also, twice in every year—That he will keep the Premises Out Houses Glass Windows Shingling and Fences in all manner of needful and necessary repairs as often as occasion shall require,—and that he will repay General Haldiman such Premium and other Expences as he shall be put to in insuring the sum of £1400 Sterling on the said House. These repairs except a few Shingling have not yet been Executed, the House has not been once painted

or the Roof Tarred. It leaks greatly and the General has demanded that these repairs be made, and the Covenants complyed with. The rent, premium of Insurance, repairs, and other Terms of this Lease will make it come a dear House to Government. After representing the Terms on which we hold this House, I beg leave to inclose to Your Lordship a letter that I received from Mr. Jones who is Attorney to General Haldiman together with a Plan of the House, wherein Your Lordship will observe the terms on which it is offered for sale, whether advantageous and reasonable I cannot pretend to determine being not well enough acquainted with the value, or prices of Houses here.—I think that a House within the Garrison would be the most proper place for the residence of the Governor, and if it is thought advisable to build one, either on the plan inclosed, or on any other more moderate one, this House may be purchased for my residence, untill that is compleated, and then applied to public uses.

The Workmen have represented the Old House to be in such a dangerous situation that I shall be almost afraid of venturing to attend Divine Service there, and I am afraid that I shall be under the Necessity before next Summer either to give up this House for Public purposes and go into an other, or else to hire one for those occasions.

I believe it has always been intended that His Majesty's Governors should have a House for their residence, which have been found in the Old Colonies by their Assemblies, and in the new by Government.—I do not wish for an elegant house but only such as would have necessary conveniences, and I am very desirous that it should Cost as little money as possible, and therefore cannot think of making any engagements untill I receive Your Lordships Sentiments on this head.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant

Per Chester.

Right Honourable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 29th Septr. 1770 / Governor Chester / (No. 5) / R 9th Jany. 1771 / D— 5 / The Plans transmitted / with this Letter, sent / to the Plantation Office. / Ent.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 8) Pensacola, 25th December 1770.

My Lord,

I have the honor of forwarding to Your Lordship Duplicate Copies of the Laws that passed in the last Session of Assembly, Copies of the Minutes of Council and the Journals of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, which were not finished in time by the Clerks of the Council and Assembly, or I should have transmitted them by the last packet.

The Act entituled "An Act for preventing fraudulent Mort-"gages and Conveyances for enabling some Coverts to pass away "their Estates, and for making valid Deeds of Bargain and "Sale," will tend greatly to the security of Property.

The Act for the regulation of the Indian Trade if it can be properly carried into execution will prove a very salutary Law, but I doubt much if it will have its desired effect for want of proper Evidence from the Indian Country against delinquents, most of the Trader's in the Indian Nation being in league, and they will not readily accuse each other.

Several of the other Acts appear to me to be useful, but might have been more correctly drawn in order to answer all the good purposes intended by them: and may want revising.

In reading over the Laws of the Province I find several Acts which formerly passed here in the administration of Governor Johnstone, and Lieutenant Governor Browne, which appear liable to objection, and may be thought to require His Majesty's disalowance. The first of these is an act, Entituled, "An Act for "granting of Licences to retailers of Spirituous Liquors imposing "a duty on said Licences, and for regulating of Taverns or "Publick Houses," passed the 2d January 1767. The objection to this Act is, that the payment of the duty imposed is to be made to the Church Wardens, and the money levied to be applied in building a public Market House in the Town of Pensacola, in such manner as the Justices Church-Wardens, and Vestry shall appoint, and the money levied within the District of Mobile to be applied in such manner as the Justices in Quarter Session shall think necessary.—Whereas all publick monies should be paid into the hands of His Majesty's Treasurer; and no monies should be applied to any purposes without an order of the Governor in Council.

The Act entituled, "An Act to erect Mobile into a County, "and to establish a Court of Common Pleas therein," passed the 2d January 1767. Erects Mobile and the Lands adjacent into a County, by the name of Charlotte County, and gives authority to the three Senior Justices of the Peace residing in the said County to hold Courts of Common Pleas with jurisdiction over Causes to the amount of thirty pounds sterling besides Costs of Suit, without any appeal; and prescribes no mode for their proceedings. Whereas the power of holding Courts was before the passing of this Law Established by Commission under the Great Seal, but this Law enlarges the powers contained in the Commission beyond what they ought to be.

The Establishment of a new County with proper Courts and Jurisdiction appears to me a regulation which should always be done by Charter or Ordinance under the Great Seal of the Province, which if found necessary for the Ease of the Inhabitants may still be carried into execution, reserving to the Crown the power of appointing all their necessary Officers.

The Act entituled "An Act for the Order and Government of "Slaves passed the 2d of June 1767," in the 16th Section of the said Act, after directing the mode for the Tryal of Slaves for Capital Offences, authorizes the Major part of the Court one of them to be a Justice, if they Judge the Criminal guilty of a Capital offence, to give sentence of Death, and forthwith by their Warrant directed to the Provost Marshal *cause immediate Execution to be done* by the Common, or any other executioner &c which deprives the Crown of its power of reprieving, pardoning, or Extending mercy in any shape to the Criminal.

The Act Entituled "An Act, to Confirm and regulate the "Court of Requests," passed the 4th of January 1768 recites in the preamble of it that a Commission had been issued appointing a Court of Requests &c which had been found useful; The Act then Establishes and continues the same Court under certain regulations therein mentioned; Now if the Commission itself was sufficient to Establish such a Court with proper powers, I cannot see the use of the Law or that the mode of Erecting of this Court (which was before fully Established under the Commission) should with any propriety have been altered: and I think that this Court should be again re-established under the Kings Commission, and not depend upon the Act for its Existence.

These few observations have occurred to me in reading over the Laws, and if Your Lordship shall think them of any weight, I could wish that the Acts may be revised by the proper Officers

in order that if found necessary His Majesty's disapprobation of them may be signified to me.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 25th Decr. 1770 / Governor Chester / (No. 8) / R 6th March / D — 9 / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 10). Pensacola 8th March 1771

My Lord,

I had yesterday the honor of receiving by the Packet your Lordships Circular dispatch (No. 28) and from the violent proceedings of the Spaniards in dispossessing His Majesty's Subjects of their settlement at Port Egmont in Falklands Islands, and the considerable Naval Armaments preparing at home mentioned in your Letter I have just reason to be attentive to the Security of the Colony, which His Majesty has committed to my charge. We cannot be too thankful to Our Royal Master for his assurances that in case matters should come to extremities the security of His Possessions in America will be a principal object of His care and attention. Nor can I, lest that event should take place be too early in my considerations of what may be necessary for the Protection of this Defencless Colony. We have only here at present the 16th Regiment Quartered in the Province (which consists of 401 . . . . Men rank and file as appears by the inclosed return (one Company of this regiment is detached at Mobile) for our Defence and Protection against a foreign Enemy, and our Neighbours the Indians who for some time past have given us great reason to suspect that they have not that friendly disposition subsisting towards us which we could wish. We are by our situation environ'd on all sides by the Spaniards, and exposed to their attacks from the Havanna La Vera Cruz or New Orleans. Three or four Ships in six or Eight days Sail from the Havanna would in our present situation make a most easy Conquest of us. Our greatest security will be in a Naval Armament to Cruize in the Bay of Mexico. Our Neighbours at Orleans have there at present from the best intelligence I can

procure about three hundred and Eighty regular Troops,—fifteen hundred Militia, and upwards of four thousand Negroes upon whom they have great dependance being all used to Muskets and the Woods. At the Dutch and Acadian Settlements between New Orleans and the River Ibberville, they have about three hundred Militia besides Negroes, and higher up the River at a Settlement call Point Coupee, upwards of two hundred Militia and a thousand Negroes, this Militia is frequently drawn out, exercised and reviewed, and from their early acquaintance with the use of fire arms, they must make very good irregular Troops. They have about six weeks since re-established a Post opposite to Fort Bute which they had abandoned, as also a Post at Point Coupee, and have an Officer and Party stationed at each place, and I am told are in daily expectation of a Regiment from the Havanna, upon the arrival of which more troops are to be stationed upon the Mississippi, and I am informed by a Gentleman who lately came here from New Orleans that the Master of a Vessel just arrived there from Philadelphia told him, he had spoke three Spanish Ships off Cape St. Antonio who were part of Eleven Sail bound from Cales to the Havanna, with two thousand Troops on board.

Your Lordship will be enabled to see what works are carrying on here for the security of the Harbour under the direction of Captain Sowers an Engineer sent here by Lieutenant General Gage and better to judge of the nature of them from the Copy of a Letter here inclosed that I have received from Captain Sowers than from any explanation I can give.

General Haldimand and my self when we were together at Mobile both agreed in opinion that it would be an useless expence to repair the Old Brick Fort at Mobile, and that Stockadoe's would serve as a sufficient security to the Inhabitants in case of an Indian War. As this Fort is going to ruin if it was entirely pulled down the Bricks and other materials might serve for the works carrying, and to be carried on for the defence of our Harbour, and be of much greater use than where they are.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect, My Lord
Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

The Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough

Endorsed. Pensacola 8th March 1771/Governor Chester/(No. 10) / R 21st June / D—11 / Ent.

Return of His Majesty's Troops Quartered in West Florida. Pensacola March 10th, 1771.

Places Where.	Captains.	Subalterns.	Staff Officers.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
At Pensacola	3	11	7	23	17	297
At Mobile	1	1	1	2	1	30
At the Red Cliffs on the bay of Mobile		1		1	1	12
At Rose Island & the Batterys & at work for the batterys..		1		1	1	62
Total	4	14	8	27	20	401

Frans. Hutcheson.
Acting as Major of Brigade

To
His Excellency
Governor Chester.

Endorsed. Return of His Majestys / Troops serving in West / Florida March 10th 1771 / In Governor Chester's (No. 10) of / 8th March 1771 / (1)

T. Sowers to Peter Chester

Pensacola, 13th March, 1771

Sir,

In Consequence of Your Excellency's Application to me, I am desired by Brigadier General Haldimand to acquaint Your Excellency, that there are no other works going on, than those the Brigadier General mentioned to Your Excellency, viz. Building four Batterys, one at the red Cliff, one opposite this on the Point of Senta Rosa, one on Farter Point, & one at the Signal House, each are to have a Powder Magazine, & a Blockhouse in the rear of each Battery, to protect them and to Lodge the Troops which are to work the Guns. All the above mentioned works

being made only with wood, and Facines, on a loose sandy soil, being the very worst of Materials for constructing works of this kind, occasions them to cause much Expence, Time & Labour, on account of the great thickness which must be given to the Parrapet to make them Proof against Cannon, and will only be of Short Duration. But being desired to represent this again to the Commander in Chief I hope a method will be taken to erect and Compleat them.

All the Guns which can be Spared in the Province will be mounted on these Batteries, & as the Guns are of a small Caliber to do much Execution, Brigadier General Haldimand has made application to His Excellency General Gage for Eight Twenty four Pounders, Sixteen Eighteen Pounders, and some large mortars being the properest Mettal to be of real Service.

Building these Batterys appears to me to be the only Method which can be taken to Protect this Province against a regular Force.

The Stockaded fort Built in the Center of the Town, new Pickets are providing to Secure the Inhabitants in case of an Indian War.

As to Mobile when your Excellency was on the Spot with Brigadier General Haldimand you seemed Convinced of the Inutillity of the Fort, therefore nothing is going on there except Repairing the Barracks in the Officers Square for the Troops, and stockading the Communication to it, to serve for a Retreat to the Inhabitants in Case of an Indian War. I have the Honor to be with great Respect

Your Excellency's Most Obedient &
most obliged humble Servt
T Sowers Engineer

Copy

To His Excellency Peter Chester Governor of West Florida, &c &c.

Endorsed. Engineer Sowers / to Governor Chester. In Govr. Chester's No. 10 / of 8th March 1771 / (2) / dr.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 11) Pensacola 9th March 1771

My Lord,

It afforded me great satisfaction to find by your Lordship's Dispatch (No. 29) That His Majesty had thought fit to direct that Mr. Stuart should repair to Pensacola in order to take such steps as the exigency of affairs respecting the Indians in this department should require. I shall upon his arrival here most chearfully join with him in concerting such measures as may be thought necessary for the Interests of the Colony, and shall be infinitely happy if our mutual endeavours to effect this end, may terminate in restoring that Friendship, and Harmony, with the Savages which lately seems to have been interrupted, but on which our Security so much depends.

The chief reasons of that discontent which has lately shewn itself among several of the Tribes of Indians contiguous to this Province, I imagine to have arisen from the too General and unrestricted freedom of Trade that has been allowed to be carried on among them from the different Colonies, which has occasioned great abuses and impositions to be practised upon the Savages by the Traders, who are generally of the lowest Class of People and very licentious, and also from the great Promises and assurances which were made to the Indians, soon after we took possession of this Country of meeting them and their Chiefs frequently at Publick Congresses and distributing presents among themselves they shall hereafter fall a sacrafice to the time the French were in possession of Louisiana, who lavished such immense sums in this department for Presents that most of them became firmly attached to their Interests.

These presents they were taught to believe would be continued to be given to them by their new Neighbours and now disappointed, they tell us we are not to be credited, and our professions of friendship do not come from the heart: and as many of them are naturally jealous and suspicious in their dispositions, they are afraid that without forming some strong confederacy among themselves they shall hereafter fall a sacrifice to the English.

I was informed by one of our principal Traders, that a Chief of the Creeks told him in conversation not long since, to look to the rising of the Sun, to its Setting, to the right hand, and to the left hand, and on all sides, says he, we are surrounded with

English. You have driven the Spaniards and the French from this Country, and now have almost the whole possession of it, and tho' Your talks and Mouths may now be good towards us, Yet as you are men, they may alter, and intimated that as we had not fulfilled our promises in one point, we might not in another, therefore it was prudent they should take care of themselves.

Your Lordship is acquainted that the Creeks and Chactaws have been at War with each other for some time past, and that Mr. Stuart the Superintendant has by his mediation endeavoured to bring about a peace between them, to effect this, several Talks were sent by order of the Superintendant into their respective Nations, and meetings of their head men proposed. And in December last a large party of Creeks who were on their way to Mobile to meet the Choctaws came within forty Miles of that place, but from some information they received thought proper to return without concluding the peace or effecting any thing. During the absence of these Creeks among whom there were several Chiefs much attached to us. Some turbulent Indians imagining that the peace would take place began to stir up the different Towns to mischief. As Your Lordship will see by the inclosed Deposition of two Traders which I have had reason to believe is just and true. But the peace not being carried into execution; the disaffected have not as yet been able to engage any followers to take up the Hatchet against us.—had this Peace taken place I do not know what the Consequence would have been, and am very apprehensive that all our endeavours would not have prevented them from committing Outrages.

I am sorry that the Act passed in the late Session of Assembly for this Province regulating the Indian Trade has not been productive of those Sallutary purposes which were expected from it; most of the Towns to which the Traders resort who obtain their Licences from hence are in the Creek, Chactaw, and Chickisaw Nations beyond the limits and Jurisdiction of this Province, so that the breach of any regulations committed there are not cognizable in our Courts, nor can process issue there to apprehend delinquents until our Boundaries are extended so far as to include those Nations within our Jurisdiction; and then a Law properly framed might restrain the licentious behaviour of the traders and their impositions on the Savages of which I have had many Complaints, but not power to redress, and prevent the constant outrages and disorders committed by those people called Crackers, and Stragglers who come from the back settlements of Georgia, Carolina and Virginia into the Indian Country.

If there are not some measures fallen upon to curb these irregularities they inevitably will some time or other involve us in all the Calamities and immence expence attending an Indian War, which must prove very disadvantageous both to Great Britain and her Colonies be our success ever so great.

If the different Colonies in the Southern district would pass a similar Bill it might be the means of preventing many abuses: The substance of which Bill should be in my opinion, to limit the Quantity of Goods, and Rum to be carried into the Indian Nation, and the number of traders in each town, and restrain them from trading any where but at certain proper towns to be mentioned in the Act, and from selling more goods to any Indian than is necessary for his own consumption. To empower the Governor and Council to settle a reasonable Tariff as occasion should require. As proof against delinquents is very difficult to be obtained it might allow Indian Evidence, with corroborating circumstances to be given in our Courts, and then left to the Court and Jury to convict upon if they thought proper, and should from other circumstances think the prisoner guilty. It should enumerate every species of offences generally committed by traders, and inflict such fines and penalties as are adequate to the offence. Each Trader should enter into Bond with sufficient security and take Licences from the Governor within whose province and Jurisdiction he is to trade and no others be allowed. And the Governor or Governor and Council should be enabled to make such orders and regulations from time to time as should be judged most suitable to the circumstances of the Province. But as the best Laws will prove ineffectual without proper persons to carry them into execution therefore I submit if it would not be proper again to establish Commissary's to reside in each Nation, who should be appointed Magistrates and be also authorized with proper powers to inspect into the Conduct and behaviour of the different Traders that they might be enabled to issue process against Delinquents and bind them over to appear at the next Sessions, where they and their securities might be prosecuted. These Commissaries would be a great Check upon the licencious Traders who now daily commit the greatest abuses without fear of punishment, they wou'd also by a constant residence in the Indian Towns be the best Channel thro' which we could receive proper information of the real designs and intentions of the Indians.—These are a few hints not so well digested as I could wish, but may serve to shew in general what the heads of such Bill should be, but I am afraid that either from inatention or the private views of

many of the different Assemblies no general regulation will take place but by Act of Parliament.

If Government would approve of a congress being held with the lower Creeks it would be a great means of restoring that friendship and harmony between us, so much to be wished for, and we might obtain from them a greater Cession of part of the Interior Country for the purpose of settlements: at present we are circumscribed by very narrow limits. And if the Savages could be promised Congresses (the expences of which might be limited) to be held once in three or four years, it would tend very much to quiet their minds, and might be productive of very salutary Effect. Should that plan be adopted, I shall be enabled to make a considerable saving yearly out of the Indian fund allowed for the use of this Province, which might be applied to, and would lessen the Expence of the next Congress; for the Indians would not then come down continually in swarms and make such pressing demands for presents,—were I to gratify them in their requests the annual allowance of presents would be expended in a few months. I am therefore under the necessity of making use of great Aconomy and to endeavour to satisfy them with as few things and in the best manner I can.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect

My Lord
Your Lordships Most Obedient
and Humble Servant
Per Chester.

The Right Honorable the Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 9th March 1771. / Governor Chester / (No. 11) / R 21st June / D — 12 Ent.

A true and exact Copy of the Register for Births and Burials from 24 June to the 24 December 1770.

July	1	Mary Daughter of George & Winifred Allen of the 16th Regiment aged 3½ years.
	4	Mary Daughter of Christopher & Mary Connelly of the 16th Regt. aged 1 y 6 mos.
	9	Robert Johnston Serjt. in 16th Regt. . . Flux
	10	Anne Daughter of Crowley & Elizabeth Burrows.
	15	Robert son of James & Eliza. Robinson of 16th Regt. an Infant.
	19	James Son of Henry & Catherine Stedfast an Infant of do.
	21	Elenor Daughter of Robert & Catherine Wans a Child, 16 Regiment.
	29	Edward Haywood Soldier in 16th Regiment.
	31	Jane Catherine Cooker, Daughter of Thomas & Jane, an Infant 7 months old born & Burried at Campbell Town—Flux.
August	1	Wm. Moore, Soldier in 16 Regt. . . Consumption.
	"	James Forward an Inhabitant . . . . . Flux.
	3	Martha, Daughter of Alexr. & Jane Moore 7 mo. flux.
	4	Joseph Stewart, an Inhabitant, Flux & Consumptn.
	31	Mary, Daughter of Robert & Margaret Craig of 16 Regiment, Decay.
Septr.	3	Sarah, Wife of Ensign Bentham of 16 Regimt. Foot. . . Flux.
	8	James, Son of James & Mary Mant. Drowned.
	16	Thomas, son of Benjamin and Mary Dean 16th Regimt. Worm Fever.
	18	Elizabeth, Daughter of William & Frances Brown 16 Regiment.
	26	Walker Miller, Soldier in 16 Regt. by excessive Drinking.
		Margaret Daughter of Thomas & Anne Wilson 16 Regiment an Infant.
	29	Walter Battison an Inhabitant. Nervous Fever.
October	2	John Wainwright Soldier in 16th Regt. Consumptn.
	7	John, Son of James & Martha Hamilton of 16th Regimt. Infant. Convulsions.
	8	James, son of James & Catherine Mitchell of the 16 Regiment. Flux.
	12	James, Son of James & Mary Maxwell 16 Regt. an Infant.
	23	William Phillipps Esqr. Commander of his Majesty's Sloop Tryal. Nervous Fever Ætat 46.
	24	Jane Daughter of William & Elizabeth Underwood of Royal Artillery. Suddenly.
Novemr.	2	Michael Goggin Soldier 16 Regt. of Foot, Black Scurvey.
	8	Joseph Son of John & Jane McCourt. 16 Regimt.
	10	Anne, Daughter of Lt. John & Susannah Jones 16 Regimt. Teeth. an Infant.
	12	Anne Margaret, Daughter of George & Winnifred Allen, 16 Regimt. an Infant.
	14	Lewis, La Porte a Stranger.
	16	Christiana, Daughter of Mathias & Rebecca Mathews, 16 Regimt. 6 Ds. old.
	18	James Blair, one of the Band of Music of the 16 Regiment, Flux.
	25	Humphrey Proudley, a poor man found Dead.
	30	Anne Daughter of Thomas & Elizabeth Creek 16 Regt. Convulss. Ætat 1 y. 8 mos.
Decr.	12	Joseph Crow an Inhabitant, Fever & Convulss. Aged 42 years.
	16	Jacob Son of Andrew & Catherine Browne, an Infant, 16 Regiment.
		38 Nath. Cotton, Rector.

1770		Christenings.
July	1	Elizabeth, Daughter of Wm. & Ann Middleton 16th Regt.
	3	Ann Daughter of Saml. & Mary Paine of the Rl. Artillery born in March 70.
	"	Elizabeth Daughter of Wm. & Frances Browne of Rl. Artillery born 14 June 1770.
	8	Geo. Son of John & Bridget McCourt. 16 Regiment.
	8	John, Son of Thomas & Bridget Leadly. 16 Regt.
	10	James, Son of Thos. & Margaret Hill ditto
	15	Robt. Son of Jno. & Eliza. Robinson ditto
	19	Margaret, Daughter of Thos. & Ann Wilson ditto
	30	John, Son of Willm. & Cath. Gabbot ditto
Augt.	5	Anna Margaret, Daughter of George & Winifred Allen ..... ditto
	12	William Anthony, Son of Willm. & Mary McMullen ..... ditto
	"	Edward William, Son of John & Cathe. Day ditto
	14	Sarah Daughr. of Alexr. & Bridget Vitty ditto
	15	George Son of Robt. & Mary Knox ditto
	16	Sarah Daughter of Jacob & Magdalen Wallen do.
	26	Margaret Catherine Daughter of Serjt. Jno. & Sarah Mitchell ..... do.
	29	Mary, Daughter of Patrick & Ann Glyn do.
Sepr.	9	Margaret, Daughter of John & Jane Donaldson ..... do.
	23	James Famous, Son of James & Sarah Juan Sergt. ..... do.
Octr.	8	Judith Henrietta Daughter of Lieut. Henry Pilot & Eliza. his Wife
	"	James, Son of James & Mary Maxwell. 16 Regt.
	23	Isabella, Daughter of James & Elenor Dun. 16 Regt.
	24	Joseph, Natural son of James Wilson & Ann Harper Inhabitants.
Novemr.	4	Ann, Daughter of Alexr. & Mary Graham. 16 Regt.
	"	Mary, Daughter of Serjt. Praise & Elizabeth Wadham ..... do.
	"	Margaret Daughter of Thos. & Mary Alice Walker ..... do.
	5	William Son of William & Helen Marshall Inhabitants born 14 Octr. 1770
	10	Christiana, Daughter of Mathias & Rebecca Mathews ..... 16 Regt.
	15	Maria, Natural Daughter of James Murray & Margeret Dexter.
	16	Saml. Phillip Son of Alexr. & Jane Moore Inhabitants born 12 Octr.
	25	Margaret, Daughter of William & Lucretia Southall Inhabts. born 26 Augt.
	"	Richard, Son of Simon & Judith McCormick Inhabitants.
	27	John, Son of John & Mary Kilman. 16 Regt.
Decemr.	4	Anne Daughter of Corporal Robert & Mary Porter ..... 16 Do.
	16	Elizabeth Daughter of John & Mary Blakeney ..... ditto
	"	Thomas Son of Thomas & Elizabeth Pashley Inhts.
	"	Andrew, Son of John & Mary Simpson. ditto
	17	William Elias, Son of Lieut. Governor Elias Durnford & Rebecca his Wife.
	18	Margaret Daughter of George Anderson, St. in Rl. Artillery & Mary his Wife.
	19	James, Son of James & Mary Mant Inhabts.
	23	James, Son of James & Catherine Green. 16 Regt.
	"	Archibald Scott, son of James Bruce Esqr. of His Majesty's Council & Isabella his Wife.

42 Nath. Cotton. Rector

Endorsed. Register of Births & / Burials from the 24 June 1770 to 24th Decembr. 1770. / In Govr. Chesters of / the 14 March No. 16.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 19.) Pensacola 13th April 1771.

My Lord,

I have the Honor to inclose to Your Lordship a Letter that I have just received from Mr. Charles Stuart Deputy to the Superintendant of Indian Affairs in this department. The several matters mentioned in this Letter relative to the present State of Indian affairs appear to me as far as I am enabled to judge to be represented in a just point of light, and are of such consequence to the Interest and very Existence of this Province that I shall pay the utmost attention to them, and heartily wish upon the arrival of Mr. John Stuart the Superintendant who is daily expected that we shall jointly pursue such steps as may at least in some measure tend to quiet the minds of the Savages and redress their grievances.

I also transmit to Your Lordship here inclosed Copies of the Depositions of Andrew Hampton, and Thomas Fleming, who have been lately driven by the Indians from a Plantation on the Alibama River. Upon the first receipt of this account I thought proper to detain the Packet for a few days, (which was ready for Sailing) in Order that I might transmit a more full and perfect account of the designs of the Indians, and this transaction on such future information as I should receive, but several persons have been here since from Mobile and I cannot learn that any farther mischief has been done than what is set forth in these depositions, and I am strongly induced to believe that there is no intention in these Savages to commence hostillities against us, but that this ill behaviour has proceeded from some of their riotous young men, returning with Prisoners from War against the Chactaws, who flushed with success, and licentious have ventured to commit these disorders; and I would not have hardly thought this matter of sufficient moment to trouble Your Lordship with, was I not apprehensive that this Account might be improperly represented in some private Letters from hence.

It is impossible for me to say whether these settlements that they have disturbed, are within the boundary line that has been agreed upon between the Indians and us, or not. This point I cannot ascertain from all the Enquiries I have made, with greater precision that this, that those Lands have ever since the last congress, been supposed by the People of the Province to be

within the limits ceded by the Indians to the Crown, but for want of running the line after the Cession, which should have been done to avoid future disputes, the exact boundary seems to be doubtful, and no person that I have talked to on the Subject can give me any exact information of the situation of several places on the Line, which in the Cession are called by Indian names.

The Superintendant upon his arrival will probably explain this matter more fully, and we must endeavour either to have the line marked, (which will be attended with difficulty during the present War with the Creeks and Chactaws) or fixed and better understood by both parties to prevent any future misunderstanding.

By the Inclosed Copy of a memorial which has been presented to me, Your Lordship will see that one Henry Lefleur has made a Considerable demand against Government for his services as Indian Interpreter at the Natchez, to which employment he was appointed by the late Lieutenant Governor Browne, with promises of receiving the Salary mentioned in his Memorial, as the inclosed Copy of a Letter he received from Mr. Browne will shew.

By this Letter it appears that the man has some ground for his demands, but I cou'd not take upon me to comply with them, or pay him out of the allowance made us by Government for Indian purposes, the amount of which will not be more than sufficient to answer the services of the year nor untill I had received Your Lordships directions and sentiments upon the propriety of this request which I shall be glad to receive, that I may be enabled to give such an answer to this Memorial as you may think proper thereupon.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordships Most Obedient and Humble Servant

Per. Chester.

The Right Honble The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 15th April 1771. / Governor Chester / (No. 19) / R. 21st June. / D — 12 / Ent.

Charles Stuart to Peter Chester

Sir,

When I last had the honour of meeting your Excellency in Council, I proposed laying before you some Grievances relative to Indians, which you was then pleased to desire might be committed to Paper, but Circumstances intervening prevented my being able to do it till now.

I shall first begin with the Chickasaws, who from their long and steady Attachment to the British interest merit particular attention.

Their first and indeed their principal and just Complaint is with respect to Encroachments on their Lands by the Traders, who contrary to every Regulation, and to His Majesty's most grievous Instructions as set forth by His Proclamations in 1763 have made and do continue to make settlements or Plantations in the very midst of their Country, and that to such an Extent as to afford such a Number of Negroe Slaves as require (as I am informed) an Overseer or Driver.

This proceeding so very contrary to all the Promises made the Indians, that no settlements should ever be allowed to be made beyond the Boundary Line, without their Consent, and that at a Congress or general Meeting for that purpose held, cannot fail of giving general disatisfaction, and perhaps one day when we least expect it of incurring their Resentment, as it is well known no People are so jealous of their Liberties or so tenacious of their Property as Indians, nor can any People better conceal their Resentment, till their Schemes for Revenge are brought to Maturity so that their Intentions are seldom discovered till Effected.

It will also be attended with this bad consequence if not prevented, that they will hold very light any Promises that may hereafter be made them, wherefore the greatest Caution becomes necessary as well to avoid giving the Indians in general Cause of discontent as to avoid involving us in an Indian War, the Expences and Calamaties of which are but too well known for me to enumerate here particularly at this Juncture when we may by the Warlike Preparations making in Europe be upon the Eve of a War if it is not already declared, in which case I believe Your Excellency will think from our situation that this brave tho' small Nation for so I may justly Call them may be very useful should Circumstances render their Services neces-

sary: They also are a Cheque upon other Nations and Tribes surrounding us, for it is well known that the Creeks and Chactaws and the Tribes inhabiting the Lakes and Banks of the Mississippi stand much in awe of them, nor could the Nation of Arkansas ever be at Rest till they had made Peace with the Chickesaws, this Nation of Arkansas or Quapaws were looked upon by the French in the same light that we look upon the Chickesaws, and I make not the least doubt but if found necessary with the Assistance of the latter the former might be prevailed upon to change Masters, as they have already demanded English Colours & Traders, their Trade being much restrained, for according to their own Information, few or None are allowed to trade with them but the Officer commanding the Post, who puts what Value he pleases upon his Goods, and this Step would effectually Secure to us the peaceable Navigation of the Mississippi.

Their next Complaint is that the Traders and Packhorsemen go out a hunting the same as they do, by which means they lose great part of their hunts and have their hunting Grounds disturbed, which is also contrary to His Majesty's Proclamation, and I am informed that no less than Eighteen of them have gone out this winter to hunt, when perhaps the whole number of White Men does not exceed 24.

Their Chief Par-Mataha complains of one James Bubbir a Trader who in the Year 1762 or 3 had charge given him of some Horse Loads of Ammunition, which was sent him by the Province of S. Carolina in a present and that said Bubbir kept Eleven horse load of it for himself, and has only as yet paid two pieces Strouds and eight pieces of Gartering and absolutely refuses paying any more. He therefore prays to be paid and will take any other Articles in lieu.

They Complain of the great Quantities of Liquor carried into their Towns, by which many disorders are occasioned, and I doubt not but great part of their Skins are purchased with that Commodity, by which means they are left poor, and of course are an additional Expence to Government as they will be the oftner comeing down to get Presents.

They also Complain of the want of a Commissary to keep order and to see Justice done them, to give and receive Talks as they cannot depend upon any other, and which is a Circumstance with them of the greatest Consequence, and unless there are Commissarys in the Nations in my Opinion, merely impossible to be answerable for what may happen in them or to

be properly informed of the Transactions of Indians, or that the Regulations made for the Management of Indians and their Trade can ever properly be observed, and it is answering no End to make Laws where there is no compelling Obedience.

An Armourer also should be allowed them as they are at so great a distance which would also be a Saving to Government, as it would prevent many of them comeing down here merely to get their Arms mended, who must be maintained and receive some Present.

If these Complaints were redressed and allowances made, we should thereby secure to Ourselves a Body of brave and good Indians, who would be ready upon any Emergency to undertake any Service that might be required.

What I have said of the Chickesaws in some parts may not improperly be said of the other Nations and Tribes in the Southern District, but I will now say a little with respect to the Chactaws, who from their Situation and Numbers (being full three thousand Men fit to carry arms) and treacherous disposition, their Vicinity to the Spaniards, and the Regard some of them still retain for their old Neighbours are not at this juncture an object of less Importance than the Others, the fidelity of the Chickesaws may with good Management be Depended on, but that of this Nation never can nor is their Friendship to be obtained otherwise than by Purchase or Compulsion, from these few Circumstances it will appear how necessary it is to watch their Motions and to keep them in Temper lest our Neighbours should take the advantage of our Neglect and draw them to their Interest, nor is it unlikely but that in case of a War they might attempt it, as they would thereby not only deprive us of their Trade and Assistance but would turn them against Us which would inevitably ruin this Province or involve Us in a War with them and to insinuate into their Minds whatever they think will tend to alienate their affections from us.

Your Excellency will perceive from this Circumstance, how necessary it becomes to Cultivate and preserve the friendship of the Chickesaws. The principal Complaint of the Chactaw Chiefs is against the profuse Importation of Rum into their Nation, for to this Article they Impute all the Disorders that happen amongst them, for they thereby are not only kept continually poor and in Want but they lose all Government of their Young Men & Warriors who are perpetually quarelling an killing each other, Wherefore it is absolutely necessary that some Measure be taken to prevent this Evil, lest it be productive of evil Consequences.

They are very Importunate, for a Congress which they say was promised them at the last, but they allow their not obtaining of it to be entirely owing to their own bad behaviour, however I hope this Matter will be settled upon the Arrival of the Superintendant.

With respect to the Creeks, who by their Situation are not so much exposed to be tampered with as the Chactaws by Strangers, yet as Indians they are more to be apprehended and require much stricter looking after, they are a more haughty, stirring, enterprizing, warlike Nation, restless in their Dispositions and relentless, they are so self conceited as to think no other Nation like them and are fond of Mischief. From the behaviour of a number of Vagabonds who are permitted to rest amongst them who are ten times worse than Indians they have conceived such an Opinion of White People in general, as render them so Insolent, that to avoid greater Evils we are often obliged to suffer Indignities which cannot fail of lessning us in their Eyes. All these Evils in this Nation proceed from a want of Order & Regulation, for in regard to their Trade which is principally with Georgia, I do not believe there is one licensed Trader in the Nation, unless some few have had them from Your Excellency, and notwithstanding the thanks which were eagerly returned to His Majesty by the different Provinces for permitting the Indian Trade to revert to the Management of the Colonies, and the strong assurances given him of their making immediate Provision, yet I do not find that any of them (this excepted) have made any, so that it is by no means to be wondered at if Anarchy prevails.

Nor can it ever well be otherwise while the Colonies severally have the making Laws and Regulations and the granting particular or general Licenses, and it is in some Measure to be apprehended that each Colony will consult its own Interest, and particularly those where the Principal People concerned in the Indian Trade compose part of the Legislature.

There is another Evil which exposes Us much to the resentment of this Nation, which is the Number of white Men who are permitted to hunt and who do not Confine themselves to the limits of the Province, by which means the hunting Grounds of these People are always disturbed, of which they greatly Complain, and it is but too well known that those White People are a set of lawless Miscreants who have no other visible means of living and who have been obliged to quit other Provinces for Crimes which they still continue to commit to the great detriment of this.

This Nation has always looked upon us with a jealous Eye, and I make no doubt but some of them Imagine, that one day or other we will cut them off, merely to become Masters of their Lands of which no Nation is so tenacious, and it is not improbable from ther present Behaviour, but that some of them are hatching Mischief, particularly the *Mortar,* and another called *the Handsome Fellow* of the Oatfuskees.

The first from his private Machinations at present with other Nations I fear has no good Intentions, this at least seems to be the Opinion of several who are acquainted with his Character, however the Super Intendant is of opinion that he will not succeed in any respect with the Cherokees, and as to the other I am well informed that he has actually been and is now in the Chickesaw Nation, with a view to prevail with that Nation to interfere and make the Peace between them and the Chactaws, and as he may have more sinister Intentions I have caused his Motions to be watched and have sent for Par Mistaha great Leader of the Chickesaws on whom I can depend to give me a full Account of his Proceedings, and of what he knows of others.

I find by their different Talks, that they are very desirous of Peace and it is not unlikely but they will Effect it, altho' they still continue to request our Mediation but doubting our Influence, have applied to the Chickesaws in which case if they succeed, it cannot fail of lessning us in their Opinion, which in real Policy should be avoided.

In regard to our encouraging their Disputes, I look upon it as one of the nicest points in the management of Indians, for should they ever be reconciled which will admit of no doubt, it will be next to a Miracle if the abettors are not discovered, the consequences of which I refer to every Individual who knows any thing of Indians, altho' I confess that while we have any grounds to apprehend any Danger on their part, it would be but proper gently to blow the Coals, but as I observed above it is a nice point, and I am fully certain that the principal reason the Superintendant had for interfering in these Matters was their particular and repeated Requests to maintain the Influence above mentioned, and his never having been informed of any dangerous designs amongst them, but to the contrary till lately in consequence of the affidavits transmitted me by Your Excellency relative to the *Mortar,* and some other Informations I have since received, all which have been transmitted him, and Time only will shew how far those Informations have been well founded, tho' it is always prudent to provide against the worst.

In regard to the Tribes inhabiting the lakes and Banks of the Mississippi I am informed the Superintendant has appointed a fit Person to manage them, so that I make not the least doubt but that proper attention will be paid to their Motions which will be the more necessary in case of a War, as they are so contiguous to New Orleans and its Dependancies.

There is one thing more I beg leave to observe to Your Excellency with respect to Indians, which is the distribution of Presents, for whoever has the management of this Concern ought to make himself well acquainted with the respective Characters of Chiefs and Leaders with their Interests Connections and Influence, so as to be able to distinguish he who merits attention, from he who does not, for if this Distinction is not properly made, it is but too apt to occasion a Jealousy amongst themselves, and makes such an Impression of the Person Injured as no future Kindness can ever Efface.

I have the Honour of being
Your Excellency's most obdt. humble servt.
signed. Ch. Stuart.

His Excellency
Peter Chester Esqr.

Endorsed. Letter from Mr. Charles Stuart / Depy. Superintendant to Governor / Chester, relative to the Indians / in Govr. Chester's (No. 19) of / 15 April 1771. / (1).

Register of Burials

A true and Exact Copy of the Register for Burials for the Town of Pensacola in the Province of West Florida from the 24th Day of December 1770 to the 24th Day of June 1771, both days Included.

1770

December 27th John Son of John and Mary Kilman 16th Regt. Infant, Gripes.

1771

January 5th Elias William Son of Lieutenant Governor Elias Durnford and Rebecca his Wife Infant . . Fits.
11th Mary, Daughter of Robert Porter and Mary his Wife 16th Regt. 4 Years Dropsy & Scurvy.
16th John Haigh an Inhabitant, buried the 18th Consumption aged 36 Years.

February 3d William Evis, an Orphan, under the Care of Lieut. Downman. Dysentery.
16th Jones 16th Regt. **Drowned.**

March 17th Robert Wanno 16th Regt. Accidental Death.
20th William Dixon 16th Regt. Drowned.
31st Sarah Hodgson, Spinster. Consumption Inhabitant.

April 1st Natural Daughter of Daniel Hicky & Margaret Callahan. Teeth—Aged one year.
13 Andrew Son of Thomas and Mary Farrel 16th Regt. Teeth

May 22 Isabella Wife of Samuel Chesnut 16th Regt. a Violent Contusion from her Husband Aged 50 Years.
29th William Miller, a Carpenter and Inhabitant, Asthma Aged 35.

June 4 Dorothy Daughter of George Raincock Esqr. a Member of His Majesty's Council and Anne his Wife Fever and Flux near 10 Weeks olde.
18 Matthew Lyons, found Dead, an Inquest held, accidental Death.
22 Diana Daughter of Henry and Catherine Stedfast 16th Regt.
23 James Moses Son of Matthew & Mary Muston Inhabitants. Flux.

Copy. Nath. Cotton. Rector

Endorsed. In Govr. Chester's (No. 27) of / 26 Augt. 1771 / (1).

Register of Christenings

A true and Exact List and Copy of the Register for Christenings for the Town of Pensacola in the Province of West Florida from the 24th Day of December 1770 to the 24th Day of June 1771 both days Included.

1770

December 29th Maria Anne Daughter of Sergt. Praise Wadman and Elizabeth his Wife 16th Regt.
29th Susanna Daughter of Sergt. James Wilkinson and Elizabeth his Wife 16th Regt.

1771

January 22 James Son of James and Elizabeth Sutton born Novemr. 26th 1770. Inhabitants.
March 21 Jane Daughter of Sergt. William and Judith McClean 16th Regt.
April 26th Dorothy Daughter of George Raincock Esqr. a Member of His Majesty's Honorable Council and Anne his Wife.
28 John Son of John and Mary White Inhabitants born March 31st 1771.
30 Isabella Daughter of John and Margaret Longhead 16th Regt.
May 26 Margaret Eleanor Daughter of Augustine and Eleanor Youngstead. Inhabitants.
26 James Moses Son of Matthew and Mary Muston. Inhabitants born 22d April 1771.
26th Martha Lucy Daughter of Terence McDonagh Esqr. Commander of one of the Pacquets & Frances Margaret his Wife born May 14th 1771.
June 3 Anne Eleanor Daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Creek 16th Regt.
21 Diana Daughter of Henry and Catherine Stedfast 16th Regt.

Copy. Nath. Cotton. Rector.

Endorsed. In Govr. Chester's (No. 27) / of 26 Augst. 1771. (2).

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 28). Pensacola 27th August 1771

My Lord,

In the Extract of a Letter from Welbore Ellis Esquire His Majesty's late Secretary at War, to the Earl of Halifax, dated War Office February 7th 1765, which Your Lordship was pleased to direct should be delivered to me for my guidance before my departure from England I find the following Clause. "That the "Civil Governor of the Province shall give the word in all places, "where he shall be within his Province, except when the Com- "mander in Chief, or *Brigadier General* shall be in the *same* "*place.*" By this I understand that when Brigadier General Haldimand who is now here and Commands the Troops in the Southern Department, leaves this Town and is absent, either at Mobile, or in any other parts of the Province, that I am then to give the word:—This I mentioned to the Brigadier was my construction of the directions contained in the above mentioned clause of the Extract: but the Brigadier understands the Clause differently, and thinks he should give the word during his continuance in the Province, tho absent from this town, and construes the word *place,* to mean *Province,* so that when ever he visits the different parts of the Province he leaves a number of Paroles behind him, to be given out by the Deputy Major of Brigade during his absence, which in my opinion is contrary to the Custom and practice of the Army.

The Ceremony of giving the word is of little importance but as I would not choose to deviate from the Instructions which I received, or give up a point which I ought to support, lest it hereafter might be drawn into a Precedent for succeeding Governors, and I be exposed to Censure for my acquiesence contrary to my opinion.

The advantages that must arise to His Majesty's service from a good understanding and harmony between the Civil Governor and the Brigadier General, have always induced me to be studious in maintaining a good agreement with him, and Your Lordship has seen by my Letter No. 3 how careful I have been to avoid any thing that cou'd tend to create the suspicion of a breach between us:—I shall still continue to avoid disputes; and tho I could not relinquish this claim contrary to my opinion and judgment, I would not assert it in any public manner, untill I had represented the whole matter to Your Lordship. And I

must beg that you wou'd be pleased to signify to me His Majesty's pleasure upon this head, and I shall most cheerfully endeavour to conduct my self therein agreeable to His Royal wishes.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's Most Obedient
and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honble. The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 27th Augst. 1771 / Govr. Chester / (No. 28) / R 5th Decr. / Ent.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 29) Pensacola, 28th August 1771.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit to Your Lordship here inclosed Copies of the Journals of the Proceedings of the Council and Assembly in their late Session certified by the respective Clerks, together also with authenticated Copies of the several Acts which have received my assent: and am now to assign the reasons and occasions for Enacting such Laws.

The Act intituled "An Act to continue an Act intituled an Act for "granting unto His Majesty certain Duties and for ap-"propriating the same to certain purposes" passed the 29th of June, was only framed to continue the Tax Bill of last year for some short time longer which would have expired on the 1st of July 1771. and to save the Duties mentioned in the old Law, which would otherwise have been lost, and to give time to frame a new Tax Bill with different appropriations from the last.

The "Act for (Establishing the method of) appointing Constables" is similar to those of the same nature passed in several other Colonies, and was thought useful.

The "Act for the better regulation of Taverns and Public "Houses, and for repealing an Act of the General Assembly of "this Province intituled an Act for Granting of Licences to "retailers of Spirituous Liquors imposing a Duty on said Li-"cences and for regulating of Taverns and Public Houses," repeals an Old Law for granting of Licences &c passed the second

day of January one thousand seven hundred and sixty seven, which I have before in my Letter No. 8, mentioned to Your Lordship was liable to objection, and therefore desired that it might have His Majesty's disallowance; for I observed that by this old Law the payment of the Duty imposed was to be paid to the Church Wardens, and the money arising from its appropriation was to be applied in building a Public Market house in the Town of Pensacola in such manner as the Justices, Church Wardens, and Vestry should appoint, and the money levied within the district of Mobile was to be applied in such manner as the Justices in Quarter Sessions should think necessary, which I thought improper, as all Public monies, raised by any Law shou'd be paid into the hands of His Majesty's Treasurer, and shou'd not be applied to any purposes without an order of the Governor in Council.

By this new Law the Monies arising from its operation are to be paid into the hands of the Treasurer & applied in consequence of a Warrant from the Governor in Council towards defraying and paying the Expences heretofore accrued in making Bridges and clearing a road from the Town of Pensacola to the Ferry at Perdido and from thence to the vilage on the East side of the Bay of Mobile, and if any overplus remains it is to be appropriated in such manner as a future Law shall direct.

The "Act for the punishment of vagabonds and other idle "and disorderly Persons, and to prevent persons hunting on "the Indian Grounds and trespassing on the Lands of the "Crown," impowers Justices of the Peace to order such offenders, being thereof Convicted, to Prison for any time not exceeding ninety days, and for the second offence &c to committ the offenders to Prison untill the next Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Goal delivery or Sessions of the Peace of the County, and the Justices of the said Court to order such offenders to be kept in Prison for any time not exceeding six months or such Corporal Punishment by whipping as they shall think fit, or to send the offender to be employed in His Majesty's service by Sea or Land, which the Justices in England at their Sessions are authorized to do by the Act of 17 Geo: 2d chap: 5 Sect. 9. This Law I am in hopes will greatly tend to restrain many Licentious Persons who come hither thro' the Indian Nations from the other Provinces and commit great abuses, and prevent them in future from building Houses and Huts on the Lands of the Indians who have made several Complaints of such practices.

The "Act for granting unto His Majesty certain Duties and

"for appropriating the same to certain purposes and to repeal "an Act of the General Assembly of this Province Entitled "An "Act to continue an Act intituled an Act for granting unto His "Majesty certain Duties and for Appropriating the same to "certain purposes," repeals the first Act passed in this Session which as I have before mentioned was only framed to save the duties of the Act of last year which would have Expired, and to give time to frame a new Tax Bill with different appropriations from these in the old Law.

The present Act after providing the Sum of £150 per annum for the Clerks and Messengers of the Council and Assembly for their trouble in transacting and attending the business of both Houses appropriates several sums for the use of the ferry's at the River Perdido and at the Village opposite the Town of Mobile, and for repairing the Bridges on the road between this Town and Mobile, by which means a communication will be kept up that must be of public Utility. The Provision for an Express to Mobile upon the arrival of Packets was effected by the Mobile Merchants, who would otherwise have been prevented from answering their Letters by the Packets. And the Provision for a Pilot Boat by the Merchants of this Town, which was much wanted and will be of service to our trade. I flattered myself that the House of Assembly would have provided for the Expences attending the holding of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and such other as might arise from Criminal prosecution, and therefore particularly recommended such provision to them, as Your Lordship will see on the 26th page of their Journal but by the answer which I received was greatly disapointed in my expectations, and did not omit observing it to them in my speech at the Close of the Session, and shall not fail to renew my application for this necessary service of Government and hope that I shall meet with better success in some future Session.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect
My Lord
Your Lordships Most Obedient
and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honoble. The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 28th Augst. 1771 / Govr. Chester / (No. 29) / R 5th Decr. / Ent.

Edward Mease to the Earl of Hillsborough

London 26th November 1771

My Lord,

I have the Honour to inclose Your Lordship a Narrative of my Journey to Natchez and through the Chacta Nation.

My Intentions in keeping it were good ones and I hope, your Lordship will allow me to plead them in Excuse for its Insufficiency.

I have not ventured to make any Reflections on the advantages of settling in so fine a Country nor what mode of Administration wou'd make it the most profitable to Britain;

These, My Lord you are sufficiently acquainted with and I Presume to hope that the Banks of the Mississippi will soon flourish under Your Lordships Patronage and Protection.

I have the Honour to be,
My Lord
Your Lordships most obedient
and most humble Servant
Edward Mease.

Endorsed. London, 26th Novr. 1771. / Mr. Mease.

NARRATIVE

OF A JOURNEY THROUGH SEVERAL PARTS OF THE PROVINCE OF WEST FLORIDA IN THE YEARS 1770 AND 1771.

By Edward Mease.

1770. Sunday 4th Novr. At 2 o'Clock this Afternoon I set out from Panzacola for Fort Crofton in Company with Lieutenant John Stone of the 31st Regiment. About 3 we came to a Place called Colo. Welch's Plantation, where there is a very good House prettily Situated, having a Lagoon in Front and a fine View of the Harbour of Panzacola but the Land all round is the worst kind of Pine Barren. At 6 we came to the Ferry at the River Perdido where Travellers on this Road generally sleep. During our Walk I saw nothing but Pine Barrens with some few Cypress Swamps of no manner of Value untill we get close to the side of the River where there is some Oak Hickory & Evergreens.

/ [1] Monday 5th Novr. The Weather proving exceedingly bad, we did not set out untill 9 and at 10 got over the River to Mr. Durnfords Dairy. Proceeded on our Journey and at Noon arrived at the Wig Wams or little sheds built by a Company of the 31st Regiment when employed in making the Road to Mobile. Rested untill 2 & at 3 came to Mr. Durnfords Fence and at 5 to a Bark'd Hutt on the Road-side where being greatly fatigued we agreed to pass the night.

Tuesday 6th Novr. At Day Break we set out upon our Journey and after passing through Pine Barrens & low, flat dewy Meadows producing nothing but long sower Grass and Flags we came to a Rivulet over which there is / a Bridge built of Logs and called Buff Bridge from its having been built by a Company of young Buffs. At this Bridge the Land on the East side is high and there seems to be a sort of Stone somewhat like Stratus of Iron Ore.* At 11 set forward and travelling through Pine Barrens we came at Noon to another Rivulet over which there is a Bridge called Mobile Bridge, there being no other between it & the River of that Name. Here we were constrained to rest ourselves, suffering incredibly from the Violence of the Heat & great Fatigue in walking. At 1 proceeded & at last came to a Pond, so *called from its being cover'd with Water in rainy Weather.* / Here it is that the Road turns off for Crofton on the left but the Path being scarcely distinguishable, it is difficult for a Stranger not to lose himself. Passing from hence to Fort Crofton we saw some most beautifull Vallies, they resembled the Lawns at Stowe but were infertile and generally cover'd with Pines. Having no Path to direct us we lay by till Gunfire to know the Bearing of the Fort and soon after arrived there where we were hospitably received by its worthy Commandant whose Name it bears.

This Fort is built of Stockades and situated on a high Bluff very steep, it is reckon'd healthy and the Hutts tho' built entirely of the Bark of Pines are comfortable and well contrived; Captain Crofton has been solely the Director of it and its Design does him Honour. / It is not of any Strength, being only intended by the General at Panzacola

[1] In this journal the paging of the original is indicated.

* I have remarked something similar to this Kind of Stone near Woolum Sands in Bedfordshire.

as an Asylum for the Sick at Mobile who upon quitting that noxious Situation immediately experience the most salutary Effects by a Removal to Crofton. Exclusive of the Duties of his Profession to which he is allowed to shew an exemplary attention this Gentleman has been exceedingly inquisitive in the History of Nature and he has formed a Cabinet of Curiosities amongst which I conceive are some that the British Museum cannot perhaps boast of.

To the Northward of this is a small Village, (generally known by no other Name) which consists of a few stragling Houses. The Inhabitants are French & they raise / great Quantities of Poultry of all Kinds, with some Corn Potatoes, &ca and have Herds of Cattle, but they look poor like the Country. They have planted some Fruit Trees but the Orange, Peach & Chickesa Plumb only Seem to answer tho' I must not forget either the White or Blue Fig which in every part of this Country grow most luxuriantly & almost without Culture.

Friday 16th Novr. Set Sail early this morning and at Noon came to Dauphin Island which is the Property of Governor Brown. Its Situation is good being opposite the Bay of Mobile, Hogs, Cattle & Poultry will thrive well here. Fruit Trees such as I before mention'd come to great Perfection and I am inform'd that Salt may be made here to Advantage.

/ Saturday 17th Novr., Set out early this Morning and pass'd a low Sandy Island known by the name of Horn Island & then came to Round Island so called from its Figure. This last is small & has neither good Land or a Four-footed Beast upon it. On the West side there has been a Brick House but it is now entirely decayed.

Sunday 18th Nov. Weigh'd Anchor at Noon came to off the House upon Ship Island. Proceeded for Cat Island and in steering in for it in a Northerly Direction our Pilot lost himself. Haled up to the Westward and after doubling a low sandy Point with Breakers we came into a fine Bay where we anchor'd in 6 feet Water. The Point we doubled bearing SE by S½S.

/ Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday. It blew so hard from the Eastward that we were obliged to continue at Anchor.

Thursday 22d Novr. Made sail and pass'd some of the Chandeliers which are low sandy Islands. Our Pilot informed me that at the proper season, many French Hunters resort to these Islands to make Oil, which they extract from

the Grease of young Pelicans & which they knock down with a Stick before they are able to fly. The Oil serves for many Purposes and is reckon'd not unpalatable in Cookery. In the Evening came to Anchor.

Friday 23d Novr. Made sail in the Morning and pass'd Isle Breton which is more remarkable than any of the others. At 4 in the Afternoon came to y^e. Passe à la L'outre where we anchor'd, the Wind being contrary. This En / trance is amazingly muddy and full of Logs of an astonishing Magnitude.

Saturday 24th Novr. In the Morning got round a point which has no name & anchor'd the Wind blowing hard from the North and extremely cold.

Sunday 25th Novr. Steer'd through the Passe a Loutre The Land on each side low & marshy with tall Reeds. About 10 we came to the River Mississippi, on each side of which the Land is cover'd with Willows & other wood; which delight us in a Wet soil. Sail'd up about 5 Leagues always keeping on the East side & in the Evening made fast to a Log on the Bank of the River. There the Soil appear'd good tho' it was somewhat mix'd with sand.

/ Monday 26th Novr. Set out early and row'd generally along the Eastern Bank of the River. The Land on both sides low but more woody than before and seemingly fit for Rice, the Trees being usually such as grow on the River Swamps in Georgia. Met many huge Logs floating down the Stream. At Night pass'd the Detour des Piaquemines and made fast to a Log.

Tuesday 27th Novr. Got out our Oars at Day Break, keeping cheifly on the Eastern side. The Land on both sides low and woody but apparently more so than before. Stopped at Noon to refresh and afterwards proceeded & made fast to a Log.

Wednesday 28th Novr. Set out early and making no great way (the Wind blowing hard from the N. West) we came to / on the Western side of the River within about a Mile of the first Plantation which is on this Side and higher up. Here I walk'd on shore to the Plantation but meeting nobody I proceeded to the second Plantation (which is about two miles farther) where I was courteously & civilly entertained by an old soldier whose name is Paul. The Land here is extremely rich and equal to any I ever saw upon their River Swamps in Georgia or Carolina. The Trees which I remark'd to be the largest were Oaks of

different Kinds, Wahoos,* Button Wood, Small Cotton Trees &ca with a great Quantity of Palmetto's but altogether different from those which grow upon Pine Barren. These being certain Indications of a good / Soil whereas those are the infallible Marks of a bad one. Joseph Paul inform'd me that in Front of the River a small Bank of two or three feet high wou'd be sufficient at this place to guard against the Inundations of the River, tho' at a greater Distance from the Sea it might require a larger one. At this Place we kill'd two Opossums, which were fine eating.

Thursday 29th Novr. The Wind being still contrary I walk'd on shore in a S.W. Direction which I set by my Compass and at about an hundred Yards after passing through thick Wood I came to a fine open Meadow where there seem'd to be good Food for Cattle and which from the many Footsteps I saw I conceive is greatly frequented. The / Soil is a greyish blackish clay and seems excellent for Rice, Hemp Flax or any other Grain that is proper for making Land lighter. In the Evening we set out by Water and got as far as Pauls where we staid all night. On the opposite side is the French Pilots Plantation & the Face of the Country is woody being cover'd with Oaks Hickory, Ash, Elm &ca but there are no Pines.

Friday 30th Novr. Set out early and having a favourable Breeze, passed many Plantations, the View of which is exceedingly beautifull. At Night came to a Mr. Serciers on the East side, whose House is better than any I have yet seen upon the River.

Saturday 1st Decr. 1770. Set out early but the Wind blowing fresh from the N.N.E. with thick drisling Rain we / were obliged to make fast on the Western side.

Sunday 2d Decr. Set out but making little way we came to on the East side. Walk'd to a Monsr. Guinards who is just beginning to settle a Plantation. The land here is vastly rich and if cultivated with Industry wou'd produce every Thing desirable.

Monday 3d. Set out and made about a League & fasten'd to a Tree on the Eastern side of the River. Short of Provisions & can find no Supply.

Tuesday 4th Decr. Set out and at about a league's rowing we came to a Monsr. Robin's Plantation, where we

* The American Elm.

left the Schooner and proceeded by Land. At 4 in the Afternoon got to the Fort which is 18 Leagues from Orleans. Here we were politely press'd to stay all night by the Chevalier / de Rochblave who treated us with great Civility. This Place he told me was granted to him as private Property by Mr. O Reilly. The Situation is fine & no Land can exceed it in Fertility. On the opposite side there is another Fort which makes it difficult I may say almost impracticable for a Vessel to force her way up the River.

Wednesday 5th Novr. Set out and walk'd through a low Cut a very fine Country with good Houses & well clear'd Plantations on both sides of the River which form a most beautifull and delightfull Prospect. The Habitations are generally at some Distance from the side of the River & as they mostly have an avenue of Orange Trees leading down to the Road, they look exceedingly pleasant from / the Summit of the Levee. Proceeded and pass'd some Sugar Plantations, which seem exceedingly well cleared. At 4 arrived at Orleans and waited upon Mr. Onzega who was very inquisitive about General Haldimand and the state of our Garrison at Panzacola.

Thursday 6th Decr. 7th 8th 9th 10th 11th 12th 13th 14th 15th Continued at Orleans, the Condition & State of which Place is so well known that anything which drew my Attention there is not worth relation.

Sunday 16th Decr. Having obtained a Pass from the Governor & presented it at the Fort at the Mouth of the Bayouc de St. Jean to the Serjeant of the Guard, we went on board a small Schooner laden with Cotton for Panzacola in order to get a Tow to the River of Pearls. The Bayouc de St. Jean / runs about North and south and is very narrow all the Way from its Mouth to the Bridge where the Road leads off to Orleans. On the Western side there are several small Plantations which produce Rice and Indian Corn. The Inhabitants likewise raise Stock in great Quantities which they carry to the Market at Orleans and some of them build small Sloops & Schooners above the Bridge. Those who reside at the Entrance of the Bayouc are Fishermen and Fowlers and when unemploy'd in that Business they gather Wood & burn it into Charcoal. There is a Bar off this Creek which is so Shoal that even small Vessels are obliged to unload in order to pass it.

Monday 17th Decr. The Wind blowing from the N. E. & the Weather very foggy we continued at Anchor all the / Forenoon. In the afternoon the Wind came to the S.E. when it clear'd up & we made sail. Our Course through Lake Pontchartrain being N.E. or thereabouts. At 8 in the Evening came to anchor, it falling little Wind.

Tuesday 18th Decr. The Wind contrary, we lay by being just in Sight of the Point aux Herbes.

Wednesday 19th Decr. Still lay by the wind being ahead.

Thursday 20th Decr. Having made sail in the night we sent the Boat on shore to find where we were and after some Search we found ourselves on the North shore. Set sail & soon after saw the Rigolets. They are distinguishable by high Trees and a Shoal very remarkable running out to the southward. On doubling the Point of the Rigolets (the Land opposite being as I conceive Cockle Island) we saw / an amazing Quantity of Geese, Outards & Ducks. There seems to be Ponds on the Western shore & I am told that this is the Resort of most of the Orleans Hunters for aquatick game. About 2 in the afternoon we enter'd the River of Pearl at the S. West Pass. Row'd through a Country extremely low on both sides with the Appearance only of Reeds for at least two Leagues, soon after we came to Willow Trees intermixt with others which delight in a Wet soil, the Land always low & the River very narrow. At 8 in the Evening we came to a Place where a Monsr. Le Ronde lived, but being dark we did not discover the House so slept on the Ground by the Fire. This Place is now abandon'd.

Friday 21st Decr. 1770. Set out at Day break (which was announced to us by the Screeching of Owls) and after row / ing through a very narrow River, with thick Wood on each side we came to a Bluff where Favre resides, who was Indian Interpreter at the Congress at Mobile in 1765. Proceeded and in about three quarters of an Hour came to Monsr. La Gautrais's who is likewise settled on the Western side and on the same Bluff with Favre. The Land here is not extraordinary high but seemingly fertile upon the Banks and back it is Pine Barren, the Trees of which are large & fit for Turpentine. Here Favre makes a good deal of Tar, his Barrels contain 22 Gallons and they are shipped to the Bayoue de St. Jean where they are sold to the Merchants of New Orleans for 2 Dollars pe. There

People have Vacheries on the West side and at the proper Season of the Year they collect great Quantities of Myr / tle Wax which also goes to the Orleans Markett. On the Eastern side of this River as far as I went up the Land is extremely low & generally overflown as is likewise the Western side unless where a Bluff prevents it. At the distance of about a League above Mr. La Gautrais I found an opening on the Eastern Land which I conceive leads into the Eastern Branch, as according to Mr. Gauld (the Surveyor of the Coast for West Florida) the several Mouths at last united somewhere above Favres Bluff.

Saturday 22d Decr. Our Business being finish'd, we return'd down the River and about Sun Set came to the Place where they gather the Myrtle & Berries & found they had just finish'd their Recolte. Here the Land on the West side is for about Six Yards from the River seemingly high / enough to prevent an Inundation but the Back Land which is covered with Reeds woud require great Trouble in draining. The Soil seems good but there does not appear sufficient high Land for Houses Barns &ca.

Sunday 23d Decr. Set out at Day Break & row'd down the River, the Land full of Reeds & in many Places Clumps of Willows. The Sky swarming with Flocks of Wild Geese & other Water Fowl. Sounded at the Mouth of the River & found from 6 to 7 feet Water. Pass'd through the Rigolets which are low marshy Islands and at Noon came to the Place which is the Rendezvous of the Geese, Outards &ca before mention'd. Proceeded round a Point upon Cockle Island which I presume is so called from the Immensity of Shells found there & from thence coasted round a large / Bie till we arrived at the Pointe aux Herbes so called from its appearance which is grassy. The Route we took was considerably about but it is not reckon'd prudent to cross directly for the Point unless Your Boat is of a proper Size. Staid here all Night and slept upon Shells. The Scarcity of Fuel here is so great that we cou'd not collect as much as was sufficient to cook our Scanty Provisions, the Remains of what Mr. La Gautrais had obligingly given us.

Monday 24th Decr. Set out at 9, the Wind being too high from the N. West to admit of it before and after rowing for 3 Leagues along a low barren Coast we came to Wood Land tho' thin & found it very shallow. At 5 in the Evening arrived at the Bayouc de St. Jean & after produc-

ing our Passport we proceed'd for Orleans where we arrived about Seven.

/ Tuesday 25th Dcr. Waited on the Governor to pay my Respects to him and in the course of our Conversation I found that he had some Intimation of a Misunderstanding between our Court and those of France and Spain but he did not explain himself sufficiently for me to learn particulars. The People of Orleans said that the Dispute arose in South America concerning Les Isles Maloüines and it is pretty certain that the Spaniards in Louisiana expected an immediate Rupture, by arming the Acadiens & other Inhabitants upon the Banks of the Mississippi, tho' they seem'd to treat it as a Trick of the Hispaniola Traders to facilitate the Sale & enhance the Prices of their Goods.

Wednesday 26th decr. Prepared for our Departure & on / Thursday 27th Decr. I left Orleans in Company with Mr. Jones of Panzacola and proceeded on foot along the Levee to join our Canoe which had been dispatched over Night. Pass'd many beautifull & eligant Country Houses & Plantations, Saw several Indigo Works, which are built on the Bank of the River & work'd by Horses. There are many Saw Mills on this side but they can only work when the River is high and then they go Night & Day. They are all Undershot and built upon Canals perpendicular to the River I mean at Right Angles with it. At Noon overtook our Canoe, proceeded along the Levee and at Night encamped in front of Mr. Bellistes Plantation. The Country seems well cleared on both sides of the River for a considerable Way back & then appears to be a Cypress / Swamp somewhat lower than the Front of the River.

Friday 28th Decr. Rose early and proceeded along the Levee and after passing many Plantations we came to the Chevalier de Belvues where we were very politely & hospitably entertained. Proceeded on our Journey and came to Monsr. Le Vignes where we dined. Cross'd the River and about an hour after Seven encamped at the Plantation of one Marcet, a Canadien. The Country on the East side looked amazingly beautifull as we pass'd along but when the River is high it generally overflows so that every Inhabitant is obliged to keep the Levee in constant Repair but also to have a Ditch for greater Security.

Saturday 29th Decr. Set out early but were soon obliged to take Shelter on account of the Badness of the Weather. It / clearing up soon after we proceeded, the River gen-

erally on each side not well cultivated, the Banks cover'd with Willows. Came to a Mrs. Lamberts, a Native of Ireland where we slept & were courteously entertaind. At this House Dry Canes were used instead of Candles and answer'd equally as well. It is called the first Acadien's, none of those Settlers living lower than this.

Sunday 30th Decr. Set out early, the Land on both sides but particularly the West exceedingly fine. At Noon came to a Monsr. Verrots, Juge et Commandant of a District of the Acadiens where we were hospitably entertain'd. Proceeded, pass'd a Church on the W. side & soon after came to Monsr. Judis's, and the Juge & Commandant, who gave us a most Hearty Welcome. The Land which we pass'd, willowy & low / but looks high because the River is low.

Monday 31st decr. Set out at Day Break and soon after pass'd a Village of the Alibamous Indians on the West Side. Stopp'd at a small Plantation where I saw Tobacco growing most luxuriantly. At 10 were opposite the Nation of the Oumas Indians who are settled on the East side & are not numerous. At Noon came to a Plantation where we bought Pumpions at the Rate of a Dollar a hundred. Proceeded and Pass'd Ten large Canoes all lash'd together, loaden with Skins, Tallow & Buffaloe Meat for the Orleans Market. At night came to one Isaac White a very industrious Settler, who assured me that no Lands in North America can possibly exceed the Banks of this noble River in Fertility. The Acadiens here raise a good deal of Cotton, part of which they manufacture for their own / Use & with the Surplus, purchase Necessaries at Orleans.

1771 Tuesday 1st January. Set out early and cross'd over from the East Side. The Land generally cover'd with Willows in Front and back with Cypress, Hard Wood and Canes. Proceeded and encamped at an Old Womans on the East side. The Land very greasy & seemingly fit for Hemp, Flax or any other Grain.

Wednesday 2d Jany. The Weather being tempestuous & rainy we lay by all this Day.

Thursday 3d Jany. Set out on foot along the Eastern Bank of the River and soon came to one Frank Landry's where I hired a Horse to carry me to Manchac. Pass'd several small Habitations and came to what is called the last Plantation which belongs to a Minorquin. Here I

found the Road was impassable without a very good Guide, so proceeded by Wa / ter to the Spanish, Indian Interpreter (whose name is Silves). From hence I proceeded by Land to Manchac, having some Indian Boys for my Guides and cross'd the Iberville à Pied Sec.

Friday 4th Saturday 5th Sunday the 6th Continued at Manchac where there are still some Vestiges of Fort Bute. This Place having been under the immediate Inspection of Mr. Robertson the Engineer, needs no description of it from me. The Land is rich but you soon fall back into Cypress Swamps which are generally overflown. The Inhabitants at present are but few and their Habitations mean.

Monday 7th Jany. Went early this morning to a Place near what are called the * Forcks of the Iberville, where *we sent our People to build a Canoe to carry us to the River* / Amite. Set out at two and at 6 in the Evening got to the Mouth of the River and encamped on the Eastern Point. Wild Ducks flocking down the Stream in innumerable Quantities.

Tuesday 8th Jany. Early this Morning we proceeded up the River, when the Deputy Surveyor at the Distance of about two Miles run a Line on the West side in a South Direction, which is to be the Boundary of an intended Town, this Place having been reserved for that Purpose by Governor Brown. Walk'd across the Land as far as the Iberville, which is good, being cover'd with various kinds of Oak, Wahoos, Beech, Sassafras, Button Wood, Locus, Wild Mulberry, Linden Trees & thick Canes.

Wednesday 9th Jany. The Surveyor judging the reserved Land too little for the intended Town, added the Extent of / a Mile higher up and cross'd again to the Iberville. Rowed up about twelve Miles, the Current sometimes rapid, the River narrow & Serpentine in its Course, and at the Points which are mostly on each side alternately, Banks of Sand almost as white as the Beach at Panzacola. This River appears not to overflow but in a very few Places which are Cypress Swamps, the Banks of it are cover'd with great Quantities of Magnolias & other Evergreens intermixt with various sorts of Trees, but particularly Oaks which yield Acorns of an extraordinary Size. Bears are in great Numbers on both sides of this

* By Engineer Pitman, Anatamaha.

beautifull River and there are always Parties of the Pascagoula Indians resorting hither to hunt.

Thursday 10th Jany. Came down the River and on Friday 11th Jany. arrived at the Mouth where a small Tract of Two hundred Acres was run out at the Eastern Point. / At this Place the Situation is inconceivably beautifull, having the Iberville in Front & the Amitte on each side. The Banks are never overflown & they are cover'd with Stately Evergreens & the tallest Oaks. Back from the River it is generally Cane Land with Clumps of Oaks which when inclosed will be particularly usefull for rearing of Hogs. The Proprietor named it Cane Wood & has this Year made a Crop of Indian Corn, Pease, Potatoes & Pumpions.

Saturday 12th Jany. Sounded at the Mouth of the Amitte & found from 1½ to 2 Fathom Water, the deepest on the Eastern side. Proceeded up the Iberville and at Noon arrived at the Forks. Here we debark'd and proceeded on foot to Manchac. The Banks of this Bayouc, for the French call it by no other name, are cover'd with Oaks, Gums, Canes, Brambles / and that kind of Bulrush used by Cabinet Makers for polishing. In the lowest Places, they are cover'd with Cypress not very large. From the Forks to the River Mississippi the Iberville was dry unless in some few Places, which were only small Ponds of stagnant Water and it appear'd frequently choak'd up with Logs. These Ponds are seldom without Fish and I am credibly inform'd that it is very easy to go & take them out by hand. At the Bottom of this Bayouc grows a Root of a Fleshy Substance (its name I do not recollect) which I have seen apply'd to Gunshot Wounds with astonishing Success. Perroquets are in great Abundance, they feed upon the Shumach Berries and are esteem'd good eating. To the southward of the River / Amitte, on the Isle of Orleans I have been inform'd there are Salt Springs not far from the Source of a River which empties itself into the Lake Maurepas. I mention this as I do not recollect that any Traveller has ever noticed it.

Sunday 13th 14th & 15th Continued at Manchac.

Wednesday 16th Jany. Set out to look at the Lands about Baton Rouge which is called Six Leagues from Fort Bute. Between Manchac and the first Point the Banks of the River are cover'd with Willows and I presume from the Moss upon the Trees that they are periodically over-

flown. At the Point there are Canes here & there & the Trees are very tall, streight Willows. The Soil is light & rich and the Ground is cover'd with Brambles, Bulrushes, and the Lalrusca of the Latins. At Noon came to one Nico / lets a Frenchman, who has been endeavuoring to make a Settlement but for want of proper Directions at Panzacola has unfortunately been clearing Land already run out for other People. Here the Soil is rich, the Front is willowy for about Ten Yards or more when it rises about two feet & does not appear to overflow. Proceeded to Baton Rouge and encamped. Here I found a party of Pascagoula Indians, whose Chief or Mingo had a Silver Medal, given him by Mr. Ulloa. One side had the Impression of the King of Spain & the Reverse this Inscription, "Al Merito." This Indian is one of those settled near Lake Maurepas and was come here to hunt. At the Baton Rouge Governor Johnstone's Tract of 10,000 Acres is located, in / Front it is willowy but a little way back it rises very considerably so as never to overflow. The Trees upon it are Oaks Evergreens of sundry Kinds with Canes of an uncommon Size being from 5 to 6½ & 7 Inches in Circumference. Near the Waterside there is a sort of Clay extremely white but in no great Quantity & there are a few Stones of the same Colour not unlike Portland Stone tho' not so hard.

Thursday 17th Jany. Having received the Compliments of the Indian Chief who was pleased to salute me with nine Guns upon my departure I proceedd to the Bayouc at the Baton Rouge, where I found good Land but subject to be overflowed. Walk'd in about three Miles & met with Cypress Swamps, the Marks upon the Trees being at / least Six feet from the Ground. Proceeded round a Point very low and willowy and then came to a large Bite called "La Cypriere du Diable." Here the vulgar French imagine there are Spirits and it is impossible to prevail upon them to encamp on that side which is the East. Cross'd to the Spanish side and came to Camp, a little below the two Islands, which form the Trois Chenaux. Here I saw Pelicans perfectly white.

Friday 18th Jany. Set out early (the Weather extremely cold) and in about two hours got to a Mr. Conway's & one Babtistes, two settlers just above the Islands. Here the River is broader than what I have yet observed it. The Land at Conways is good, but at a short Distance

back / falls into a deep Cypress Swomp which is followed by a considerable Lake of Fresh Water & then by high Land which is a Ridge said to run all the Way to the Natchez. This Lake produces great Plenty of Fish something like the Sardines or Small Herring. I met with them dried at Mr. Conways and found them of a very delicious Taste. In the Woods I met with a Fruit exactly resembling a Wild Olive or Damoisin Plumb, on opening it I found it did not contain a Stone like the Olive yet the Pulp was of an oily Substance and of a blackish Colour. At Babtistes, the French settlers both on the opposite side of the River and from Point Coupee, come to cut Cypress which they Square & carry down in Rafts to New Orleans. / Mr. Bradley as Justice of the Peace has forbid Battiste from permitting it, but the Practice is still continued and they pay 2 rr^{e}.s p. Tree as it stands or two Cows p. Raft.

Saturday 19th Jany. Returned to Manchac, and in our Passage down met two French Batteaux, going up the River for Natchitoche with a Franciscan Friar on board for that Settlement.

Sunday 27th Jany. At 2 in the Afternoon left Manchac and at the distance of two Leagues encamped on our side. The Land frequently falling in. The Country cover'd with Briars or Brambles & the Trees a very tall kind of Willow.

Monday 28th Jany. Continued in Camp on Account of the Weather.

Tuesday 29th Jany. Proceedd. to Nicolets & encamped.

/ Wednesday 30th Jany. Thursday 31st & Friday 1st Feby. The Deputy Surveyor was employed in running out Lands and finding out Old Blazes. Walk'd a good Way in beyond Nicolets and at the Distance of half a Mile came to open Land the soil of an extraordinary Quality.

Saturday 2d Feby. Set out early from Nicolets and at 9 stopt to run out a small Tract of Two hundred Acres. The Land full of Canes in Front and at the distance of 20 Chains it rises into a fine Hill. Proceeded and at Night encamped below Baton Rouge. Here I remark'd great Quantities of Locus Trees, they bear a large flat Pod, which when boil'd & fermented with Yeast, affords a Liquor somewhat similar to Beer, which soon intoxicates. Liquorice also / grows here in plenty.

Sunday 3d Feby. Set out early, the Weather frosty and a very thick Fog upon the River. At 8 were opposite

to Armands Plantation on the West side. On our side the Land is low and cover'd with Cypress. Proceeded and encamped on the Spanish Side a little below the Trois Chenaux.

Monday 4th Feby. Warn'd of the approach of Day by the Hooping of Owls, we prepared for our Departure. The Weather intensely cold & the Current rapid. At 8 came to Conway's where I found several People from Virginia and Carolina come with Intentions to settle upon the Banks of the Mississippi. They were Seven in all and came by the Cherakee River. Here I was inform'd by a very intelligent Man from Georgia, that / the River Amitte was not more than 15 Miles from Conways, that after passing the Lakes aback of this Plantation, you come to fine high Land with many beautifull Plains and small Streams of Water sufficient for Grist Mills &ca.

Tuesday 5th Feby. Changed our Canoe for a flat-bottomed Barge built at Fort Pitt, and set forwards on our Journey. Pass'd Battistes (where the French had completed two very fine Rafts of Timber) and soon after came to a Settlement belonging to one Matthews, who appears a very industrious Man. Then to what is called Aickins Land, where there are three or four settlers, back from the River. In the Afternoon pass'd Les Ecorres au delait or Governor Brown's Cliffs which are high & of a chalky Substance. On the Top they are / cover'd with Evergreens. Pass'd a Creek known by the Name of Thomson's Creek, where some little way up it is said there is fine high Land with extensive Meadows. Near the River the Land is low & willowy. Proceeded & came at 4 to the first Habitation at Pointe Coupee which is reckon'd two Leagues from Conways, then to a Tract belonging to a Mr. Clarke of Philadelphia where I found two Settlers. The Land is very fine here & seems well cleared.

Wednesday 6th Feby. Set out, always keeping on our side & at 9 came to a Place opposite to a Madame Sarrisins Plantation where we found a great Quantity of split Cypress. The Land fine in Front but some little way back, low & swampy. Cross'd over to the French side and proceeded by Land to a Monsr. La Mottes, who is supposed to have been concern'd / in defeating Major Loftus's Expedition to ye. Illinois. Here we encamped & were very hospitably entertain'd. The Road at this Settlement of Point Coupee is Eight Yards broad & at about an hundred

from the River. It is quite streight and the Houses on each side are very good. The Land is exceedingly well cleared and they plough it with Oxen instead of hoeing it with Negroes. Provisions are in great Plenty but since the Spaniards took Possession, they say they cannot afford to drink much Wine.—On our side and nearly opposite to La Mottes is the Settlement of Diggory Cocks, who formerly lived on the Bay of Panzacola.

Thursday 7th Feby. Mr. La Motte having obligingly accommodated us with Horses, we proceeded on for a League and then cross'd from a Madame Liquieres to Mr. M'Intosh's / Plantation on our side. This Man keeps a small Store and as there are about Five or six more Settlers a neighbourly Community may soon be expected to form at this Place. Mr. M'Intosh with the Assistance of only two Men clear'd and planted last Season as Much Land as yielded 350 Barrels of Corn. The Grain was only put into the Ground and not planted in Hills as in Georgia and Carolina nor did it require supporting as in those Provinces.

Friday 8th Feby. Continued at M'Intoshs, it being very tempestuous. At this Place a Captain Jerome, a Sclavonian, was building a Schooner for the Panzacola Trade.

Saturday 9th Feby. Set out, row'd along a Willow Bank and at Noon came to the Village of the Tonicas. The Situation of this Place is pretty, the Figure of the Town a kind / of oblong Octagon. The Hutts descent and the Women remarkably handsome. The Indians were mostly gone down to receive Presents from Monsr. Du Villet the commandant at Point Coupee, being firmly attached to the French Interest tho settled on our side. Fruit Trees grew here in Perfection and they are reckon'd to have a fine Breed of Horses. Proceeded and in the Evening came to one Joseph Pierres a French Cypress Cutter, who had a Permit to fix himself wherever he found a Vacancy. The Land here is fine in Front but a Little way back it falls into a very deep swamp. There is another Settler here of the Name of Richardson who is likewise a Hunter.

Sunday 10th Feby. Set out early, the Land on the Eastern side which we rowed along sometimes Bluffish & then willowy. / Pass'd by Finneys, Millers & Bushes Plantations, the two first of which are deserted. At 10 came to a Tract called Spring Hill, which is in the Possession of one Ferguy, formerly an Officer in our Service but now a

Subject to the Catholic King yet residing on our side. At this Place there is a good deal of cleared Land and at about a Quarter of a Mile from the River is a small Hill amazingly beautifull, The Foot of it is cover'd with Peach & Plumb Trees & behind you discover small Plains which have been formerly cleared. There is a Creek here which at the Distance of an hundred Yards branches out to the Right & Left & wou'd be of the utmost utility in the Process for Indigo. This Man carries on a very considerable Trade with Indians & our Hunters but haveg. no Licence I suppose he will be suppress'd. I conceive / this Place to be (from what I understood at Pt. Coupee) the Old Tonica Village. Proceeded keeping on our side untill the Rapidity of the Current obliged us to cross and after a most tedious Row, the Sun being continually on our Right (of course a most extraordinary Turn in the River) we came to a Plantation on the Spanish Side, belonging to one Jacobs a German, who formerly lived at Mobile.

Monday 11th Feby. Set out along the Spanish side, the Land on ours extremely willowy. Pass'd an Island, between which and our side there is scarcely Water enough for a Canoe when the River is low. On the Spanish side there is a very good Habitation which I conceive must be the French Doctors who formerly resided at the Natchez. / Proceeded on to the Trois Chenaux (two Islands in the River generally being called by that name on account of forming Three Channels) where we stopt to run out a Tract of 500 Acres. The Land very rich and apparently not heavy to clear.

Tuesday 12th Feby. Set out and pass'd the Islands on the East side, tho' on Account of the Rapidity of the Current they are commonly pass'd on the West. These Islands are cover'd with Willows as is likewise our side opposite them. Row'd till Noon, when the Land having a tolerable steep Bluff with the Appearance of being good I walk'd in a N. East direction from the River for about half a Mile. We first met with Large Canes and a strong Soil, then low brushy Wood with Wild Turnips & here & there Spots / of Grass where Deer feed, then with a Cypress Swamp with small Trees equally unfit for either squaring or sawing. Small Tracts might profitably be run out here but for a large one a Man ought to be apprized of the Extent of the Swamp in Breadth or the Proximity of the high Lands back. Proceeded past bluffish Land, when

we came opposite La Fausse Riviere and encamped on a broad Sandy Point with small Willows growing upon it.

Wednesday 13th Feby. Set out and in the Space of an hour, we came to a Point of Land opposite the Mouth of the Red River. Walk'd in a South Direction for the Distance of one Mile when we turn'd to the Westward and at the length of a few Chains came to the Bank of the River. In setting / out from the Point (which is to be the Center of a Tract of Ten Thousand Acres for Mr. Cummins) I found the Soil light & of a tolerable Colour. The Appearance thick Briars with large willow Trees, then a prodigious Quantity of Elder then Bulrushes exceedingly thick and of a large Circumference, with Trees of various kinds, then Canes, the Soil still light & from the Quantity of Fox Vines I presume it is fit for Grapes. In crossing Westerly, I found the Land undulating as thus ~~~~~~~~ This Point I conceive ought to have been preserved for his Majesty but Reservations are made at random in this Country.

Thursday 14th & Friday 15th Feby. Continued at our Camp the Wind blowing hard from the North & extremely cold.

/ Saturday 16th Feby. Last Night it froze extremely hard equally as much so as I experienced it at Pezenas in the South of France in the Year 67. Thawed our Tent and at 10 set out. Got past the Point with some Difficulty, the Current being very rapid and the Land which is steep on this side continually falling in prevented us by the Danger of it from having the Advantage of the Eddies. I have indulged an opinion that this Point will not long be visible, and from the annual alterations in many Parts of this River I am confirm'd in my Idea. About a Mile from this Point the Land again becomes willowy & low then bluffish with many small Coves or Basons. At 3 Leagues from the Point we discover'd high Land which I suppose is the Roche D'Avion or Loftus's Retreat.

/ Sunday 17th Feby. & Monday 18th. The Deputy Surveyor continued running out Lands & searching a former Surveyors Lines. At this Place we shot an Opossum, which had several Young ones at its Teats. On examining the Animal particularly I found no Signs which were feminine about it.

Tuesday 19th Feby. Left Crawford's Land where we had last encamped and pass'd some very fine Land, some-

times low and sometimes bluffish. Came to the Roche D'Avion where the Cliffs are 160 feet in height. Proceeded and pass'd two Creeks on our side. The Land Willowy in Front & Canes and Briars alternately. Came to an Island at the Middle of which we found a small Opening, pass'd through & encamped. The Main Land on our side cover'd with Gum Trees and Briars, Canes &ca.

/ Wednesday 20th Feby. Set out early, the Weather cloudy but severely cold. Pass'd by fine Land, high & low alternately as yesterday. Came to the Three Islands, called Quatre Chenaux for the Reason beforemention'd when we turn'd a Point and went W. b. South, keeping along the Spanish Side. Opposite to this Point on our side is a pretty large Creek up which there is said to be very fine Land. Having got the Length of the Islands we cross'd to a low Point on our side where the Water was very shallow. Went on a little farther and encamped.

Thursday 21st Feby. departed early this Morning. The Land always fine but bluffish & willowy alternately. Pass'd a small Island on the Spanish side and afterwards came to two Islands & pass'd between them & the Main / on our side, the Current rapid. High white Cliffs in Sight which I call Wards Cliffs from the Proprietors of them. A little below these Cliffs I walk'd into the Country. The Land in Front Canes for about 20 Yards, then Bulrush then tolerable clear Land with tall Trees, such as Ash, Willow, Gum &ca and some Trees fit for Pot Ash. Came to the Cliffs and encamped on a small flat Piece of Ground at their foot. Just above the Surface of the Water there is much White Clay streaked with Red & Yellow. The Cliffs are steep so much so as to render the Front of them useless and their Summit is cover'd with Scrubby Pines. About the Middle of them there is a Creek which I suppose is what is laid down in some French Maps by the name of Bayouc aux Canards or Duck River.

/ Friday 22d. Feby. Set out early & soon after our Departure came to the upper End of the Cliffs where there is another Creek which I suppose is the River St. Catherines which runs by the Natchez. At this Creek the Land in front is low and willowy but appears high at some distance from the River. Cross'd over to the Spanish Side where we saw many Wild Turkeys. Here we found an Immense Quantity of dead Canes which being set on fire burnt most furiously and in bursting made a Report almost

equal to that of great Guns. On this Side are the Remains of several Plantations, I believe some Acadiens were settled here, who are now gone down to the Isle of Orleans to form a more compact Body by order of the Spanish Governour. Pass'd an Island on the Spanish side and opposite the lower End of it, I went / in to examine the Land. In Front for the Distance of Thirty Yards I found large Canes, then Briars and thin Bulrush with several Kinds of Trees, then a large Lake or Pond of Water, on the opposite Side of which the Land was low and apparently a Cypress Swamp. Return'd to our Boat & proceeded for Natchez where we arrived at three in the Afternoon. From the Bank of the River for the Distance of near two hundred Yards, the Land is low but evenly flat, when you come to a Hill, which from its Slipperyness after a shower of Rain wou'd be almost impracticable to ascend for an asthmatick Man. After rising this Hill the Land still ascends (but easily) & without any Difficulty we came to Fort Panmure which exactly resembles the Terrace at Windsor, tho' in Minuature & form'd by Nature. / From this Fort which is now in Ruins you have as noble and extensive a Prospect as can gratify the eye. Looking Eastward you see *a Country* Land not gradually rising into Hills but a fine undulating Country which even the celebrated Campania of Rome cannot exceed in Beauty. On the West side of the River the Country looks low from such an Eminence and there are no Hills to interrupt the Sight jusq à sa Perte. To the S. East I saw several Smokes, where I conceive the Inhabitants mostly reside. Near the Fort, there are the Remains of Gardens laid out by some English Officers, but nothing is left standing but some few Plumb, Peach and Fig Trees. Return'd to our Encampment and on

Saty 23d. Feby. I went to several of the Settlers Houses / who are situated on both sidse of the River St. Catherine & at the Distance of Three Miles from the Fort. They seem very industrious and healthy and their Children are as blooming and fresh-colour'd as any I ever beheld in this or any other Country. Their Names are as follows.—

Henry Le Fleur. Ind. Intr. his Wife, two Children and two servants.
in all. 6

Richard Thomson, his Wife & three Children. 5

Samuel Ferguson, his Wife & three Children,	5
Samuel Wells (a Tanner) his Wife & three Children.	5
Daniel Perry, his Wife & five Children.	7
This Man's Wife is blind, yet can sew & do every other kind of Housewifery Business.	
Michael Prudhomme, a Blacksmith, Wife & Child.	3
—— Wively, his Wife and five Children.	7
/ Jacob Miller, his Wife and five Children.	7
Michael Hooder, his Wife and five Children & Assistant.	8
Alexander, (a Shoemaker), his Wife, two Sons grown up and a little Girl	5
Trifot, who has lived here two Years.	1
Nicolas Huyt	1
Daniel	1
Connor	1
William German & his Associate	2
	64

These People are mostly from Maryland and Carolina, they came down the Cherokee River with some others settled near Conways below Pointe Coupee and are in general very laborious good Settlers. The land upon which they / have fix'd their Habitations is exceedingly fertile and as every Thing thrives most luxuriantly, they have a pleasing Prospect of living very comfortably in a short time. Return'd to our Camp at Fort Panmure and on Sunday 24th Feby. I return'd to Le Fleurs & went from thence to Richard Thomsons, (one of the best settlers here) who accompanied me into the Country; In our Journey I met with a great deal of clear'd Land of an extreme rich Quality which had been lately planted. Met with several Old Fields, with broken Potsherds upon them (the Vestiges of their ancient Inhabitants) and remark'd the Trees to be of an extraordinary Magnitude, and mostly hard Wood such as Oaks, Wahoos &ca. Came back to the Fort a little below which there was some Appearance of a Mi / neral Spring, but I cou'd not discover one of any Kind.

Monday 25th Feby. Set out early and went to the S. West Corner of a Tract of Land run out for Mr. Hannah, Pass'd forwards in an East Direction and met with several Rivulets, some few Collines and Old Fields. Turn'd to the South and went through Canes of an amazing Magnitude. The Soil equal to any I ever saw in my Life. Found many

Potsherds on the Old Fields which are remarkably well cleared. Ascended a most beautifull Hill at the foot of which is a fine shady Valley exceedingly romantick. Here we encamped and made both our Covering and Bed, of Canes.

Tuesday 26th Feby. Went on, came to Old Fields, then level Land with some few Hills with Potsherds on them. The / Trees which I mostly found in this Part were The Elm or Wahoo, Beech, various kinds of Oak, Linden, Black Walnut amazingly large, Hickory, Pecan which yields an oblong kind of Walnut & is much esteem'd, Holly, Yew, Juniper, Large Sassafras & very high, Gum, Ash, Maple or Sycamore, Locus, Magnolia, Plumb and Vines of a prodigious Magnitude. I cut several of the Ceps with my Tomahawk and as the Sap was then rising I conceive they wou'd have bled at least a Quart of the purest and most refreshing Liquor in the Space of half a Minute. Upon seeing this I readily gave Credit to the Relations of French Travellers, who assert that one single Stock will produce as many Grapes as are sufficient to make a quarter Cask of Wine. Encamped in the Woods & on / Wednesday 27th Feby. set out and after much and very uncertain Beating through Canes which from their Size and Multitude made our way almost impracticable, we came to St. Catherines Creek or a Branch of it which we cross'd with some difficulty. Then came to the Place where Hooder is settled, who comes from Maryland and seems to think the Land about Natchez rather too rich for Wheat.

Thursday 28th Feby. Rode out to Lord Eglintowns Tract which I cross'd & then came to a small one of 500 Acres where one Fairchild a Deputy Surveyor resided & kept an Indian Store. This appears tolerable good Land but is low after descending from Ld. Eglintowns Heighth. Returnd to his Lordships Tract which in Front is an amazing high / Cliff even so much so that my Horse trembled as I rode upon it.—This is one of the finest Tracts I ever saw, a great Part is cleared, I mean so well that there are no Stumps or Roots to impede the Progress of the Plough. Upon some of the Eminences are Bosquets or Clumps of Pine Trees which seem to have been left expressly both as Shade for Cattle and the Adornment of the Country.—The Old Fields as they are called, (altho' there appear no signs of Inclosure) are cover'd with Strawberry Plants & various Flowers of the brightest Hues and notwithstanding

there is a Variety of Soil yet the Difference is only in Colour for as to its Quality, it cannot be surpass'd in Goodness. Wild Turkeys, Geese, Ducks, and all Aquatick Game is in conceivable abundance and as for / Neat Cattle, Horses, Hogs and Poultry they thrive incredibly. Hops grow Wild universally through the Woods and I do conceive that the Hills wou'd produce a Wine equal in richness to any which grows in Countries under the same Parallell. Return'd to Camp and on

Friday 1st & Saturday 2d March. We got our Baggage up to the Settlements and dispatch'd our Boat back to the Man who had obligingly lent it to us. Continued at the Settlements purchasing Horses for our Journey through the Nation and on the of March the Day of our Departure a Party of Arkansa Indians came to Le Fleurs. Their Business was to meet with some Person of Authority at Natchez who wou'd encourage Traders to go / amongst them as they were determin'd to have no Intercourse with Spaniards. As they address'd themselves to me I advised their Chief whose Name was Mingo Talcua, that is Tall Chief or White Eagle to proceed for Panzacola to *talk* with the Governor which he promised to do with his New Ally, Pitnataha of the Chickesas. These Men were about Twelve in Number, very gayly drest after their manner and were reckon'd as fine & well made Indians as any in America. They talk of uniting with our Staunch Friends the Chickesas, in which Case, they together will form a Body of so much consequence as to defeat the Wiles of the French by insinuating themselves into the Friendship of the Chactas.

/ Thursday 7th March. At three in the Afternoon set out from Natchez in Company with Four White, Two Black Men and three Indians, viz. Ascochave, alias Buffalo Head Astolabe of Mongulacha (who had a Commission from the Superintendent) and his Wife. Proceeded about two Leagues and came to Camp. The Appearance of the Country not hilly but rising agreeably. Many wild Strawberries and Flowers of various Kinds. At 3 Miles pass'd the Creek which is Saint Catherine's.

Friday 8th March. Rose early, got our Horses together & proceeded over fine Land like the Natchez, then to Land mix'd with Pine, then to Pine Barren. The Country frequently much broken. Cross'd some small Runs of Wa / ter and at last a Creek which it was necessary to do

before Night as the Weather was rainy and after much Rain they generally rise suddenly so that they are frequently very difficult or at least troublesome to pass. At Noon we pass'd a Camp of Indians of the Chacta Nation who were come hither to hunt. They were as they generally are extremely dirty.

Saturday 9th March. Set out early & soon after came to a Creek which was rapid & had a hard gravelly Bottom. We pass'd it without difficulty. The Country all Pine Barren mix'd with small Oaks & Holly Trees. At Noon came to a Creek, the Land about which is level and full of Evergreens. Here we cross'd by walking over a Log & sent our Horses over with their Packs on. Pass'd on through Pine Land and / came at the Distance of two Leagues to a large Creek, where we were obliged to unpack & swim our Horses over. This I suppose is the River Amitte. Pass'd on to where it is generally said there are the last Canes. The Country all Pine Barren, much broken, with many gravelly Hills pretty steep. At Sunsett unpacked and encamped.

Sunday 10th March Set out and cross'd several Streams, the Country broken and hilly and gravelly. Cross'd a large Creek which perhaps yesterday wou'd have been so deep as to oblige us to unpack & swim our Horses. For they both rise & fall Suddenly. Proceeded through high Pine Barren with gravelly Hills.

Monday 11th March. Set out before Sunrise, cross'd several Creeks, tho' not large & then "Tangipao," The Country still / Pine Barren with gravelly Hills and in the Bottoms tolerable good Land. Rested at Noon & then proceeded through Pine Barren, then through low Land cover'd with Oaks, cross'd several Runs and towards the Evening a pretty large one the Name of which I cou'd not learn from our Indians or the interpreter. Encamped and on

Tuesday 12th March. Set out from our Encampment and travelled through a Country still Pine Barren, but much more level than before, cross'd several Runs & met with a great deal of Gravel both large & small. About 4 in the Afternoon came to the Large River where there is a Canoe for the Convenience of crossing. It happen'd to be on the opposite Side but our Negroes who were good Swimmers soon brought it over. / This is the River of Pearl, it is rapid & appear'd to me to be about an hundred

feet broad. On the East side the Land is level for some little way and the Soil is pretty good.

Wednesday 13th March. Lay by all this Day, and sent out our Indians & Negroes to hunt. Our Provisions which we brought from Natches being exhausted. In the Evening Astolabe return'd with two Turkies.

Thursday 14th March. Set out early, the Land low & full of Oaks, then Pine Barren mixed with Oak, the Country not so hilly as formerly. Came to a Hill with Stones upon it something like Slate, Cross'd several Runs which in rainy Weather must be deep. Came to a Hill which appear'd alltogether rocky, The Country, Pine Barren mix'd with Oak & the Bottoms mostly all Oak but small. About 3 in / the Afternoon came to a River the Bottom of which was rocky & the Current rapid. It appear'd fine for Trout & Crayfish some of the latter of which I saw, Pass'd on through low Land mixed with Oaks, sweet Bays and other Evergreens. Proceeded through Pine Barrens and encamped. This day I suppose we travelled near Thirty Five Miles. The Name of the Rocky River is Congito or Big Tyger, so called from the impetuous Roar which it makes when it is high. It appear'd like the Rhone, where that River is said to lose itself, between Geneva and Lyons.

Friday 15th March. Set out at Sunrise, pass'd through several low Oak Swamps, some Cane Breaks and many Runs which when the Waters are high must be swimming for Horses. The High Lands more level than before & / more oaky. That is the Oaks predominate over the Pines. The Soil very red and mixed with sand.

Saturday 16th March Set out at Sunrise and in about two hours travelling through low Oak Land with a few Pine Hills intervening alternately, We came to a most beautifull cleared Place, then to another with fine easy Descents. Pass'd generally through low miry Ground with small Canes, Bay &ca. In the Afternoon pass'd several large Runs and at last the Big Creek as it is called, over which we swam our Horses, then pass'd through miry Ground and Cane Breaks and came to another Creek which the Indians said was always the same in both fair and foul Weather. The Road exceedingly bad. At half an hour past Sunset came to Camp.

/ Sunday 17th March. Proceeded on our Journey and pass'd over high Land cover'd with small Oaks, Pines,

Elms &ca. The Soil light and sometimes of a very red Colour. At Noon to our great Satisfaction, (having been without Provisions for two Days), we saw the first Habitation in the Chacta Country on our Left at the distance of about half a Mile. Unpacked and bought Indian Potatoes, Sweet Potatoes and Caravanses for Paint, Beads &ca. The Women were the People who sold them to us. They looked very slovenly & wretched. Set out and pass'd through Land the same as before but more broken and in some Places stoney. Remark'd a Reddish soil somewhat like Red Ocre, which the Indians use instead of Vermillion when they cannot get the latter. Here the Road wou'd be difficult for a Stran- / ger without a Guide as there are many Paths which lead to different Villages, Came to Camp about half past Sunset on the East Side of a low Swampey Cane Break.

Monday 18th March. This Morning our Guide Captain Astolabe painted himself in order to wait upon the Chief of his Village, (our other Guide having letters yesterday to proceed for his own) Set out and pass'd over a Hill with a great deal of Flint Lime Stone upon it, and soon after came to a very fine Valley on the other side of which upon a small Hill is the House of Mingo Houma, a Small Medal Chief and Head-Man of the Village of Mongulacha. Pass'd on through Hills & Vales and soon after came to the Village, which lies very much scatter'd that is the Houses greatly apart from / each other. As we pass'd along the Indians of all Ages & Sexes came running down to ye. side of the Path to look at us. At 9 we got to Astolabe's House, where we left him & proceeded to a Cane Break at some little Distance, to unpack our Horses & procure them Food. Return'd to Astolabes to purchase Provisions but before entering upon Business we were introduced into a very close Apartment. This House is nearly of a circular Figure and built of Clay mixed with Haulm. The Top is conical & cover'd with a Kind of Thatch which I cou'd not make out. The Inside Roof is divided into Four parts & there are Cane seats raised about two feet from the Ground which go round the Building (I mean on the Inside), broad enough to lie upon, making the Wall serve the Purpose of a Pillow. Underneath these Seats or Beds they keep their / Potatoes & Pumpions, cover'd with Earth, but their Corn is in a Building by itself raised at least Eight

Feet from the Ground. The Fire Place is in the Middle of the Floor, just as in some Parts of the Highlands of Scotland only they have no Aperture at Top to evacuate the Smoke. The door is opposite one side (for the House is round without yet on the Inside it approaches near to the Figure of an Octagon) and is exceeding small both in Heighth & Breadth. Having Sat some time in this House, which is very disagreeable to one who cannot bear the severest Fumigation (for all the Men in the Neighbourhood were assembled to receive us) we began our Traffic for Provisions with the Women, who for Paint and Beads gave us Fowls, Eggs, Indian Corn & Caravanses. / Finishing this necessary Business we proceeded to our Camp in order to depart but a Messenger from Mingo Houma (who was just then return'd from a Journey to some of the Neighbouring Towns) came to inform us that the Chief was desirous to have a Talk with us and whilst we were preparing to wait upon him. he civilly saved us that Trouble by waiting upon us. The Substance of his Talk was, to desire I wou'd inform the Chief at Panzacola how exceedingly anxious he was for some Trader to reside in his Village, that his People were naked for want of one and that he wou'd engage for the good Behaviour of his Tribe towards one. He openly acknowledg'd, the Reason why Traders did not reside in his Village, was because some Young Men had taken away one or two of their Horses, but he observed that White Traders / were the cause of it, encouraging Indians to steal Horses, by purchasing them when stole, which otherwise they wou'd not be guilty of. He said that he had never received any Presents since the Congress at Mobile in 1765, when I saw him, and that the Bald-headed Chief (meaning Govr. Johnstone) had promised him a large Medal instead of the small one which he now wears and as he is now Old he thinks he shou'd have granted him. Enquiring into the Occasion of his Journey he told me it was to demand and insist upon the Delivery of an Indian who had kill'd a White Man in the Woods, the Friends of the Indian refuse to deliver him up but the Old Chief is determined to have his Demand complied with. The Mans Name I cou'd not learn nor the Place where the Murder was perpetrated or the Occasion of it. The Weather pro / ving wet I return'd with Astolabe to his House, where I pass'd the Night tolerably well after they had ceased from smoaking.

Tuesday 19th March. Return'd to the People at Camp & at 9 in ye. Morning set out. Pass'd through a low, flat, wet Country, afterwards rising into Hills. At Noon came to an Indian hunting Camp where we found many Peach Trees & some cleared Land. Here, being greatly indisposed, we continued untill

Wednesday 20th March at Noon When we proceeded on our Journey, pass'd several Hills & Vallies, some small Creeks, two of which had rocky Bottoms. About 3 passd the Road leading to a Village called Chickesa Heys, which turns off to the Right. At Sunset encamped upon a Hill where we met an Indian just return'd from Mobile who said that three of his Nation had been killed by the Creeks.

/ Thursday 21st March. Last Night it rained harder than ever I before knew it to do in any Part of the World I have been in. The Thunder was truly dreadfull and the Lightning one continued, incessant Flash. Several Trees were struck very near us and Balls of Fire seem'd to roll down the Hill into the Valley. This Weather continued all this day & most of the Succeeding Night, during which we lay in Water.

Friday 22d March. The Weather fine, but still continued at our Encampment, having yesterday been attack'd with both Gout & Rheumatism whilst lying in the water.

Saturday 23d March. Made an Effort to proceed, pass'd through Oak Land mixed with Pines for about a League when we were obliged to stop on account of the Waters being high in consequence of the late heavy Rains. Saw a Rabbit.

Sunday 24th March. Continued in Camp, the Waters not having sufficiently subsided. Sent our People to hunt but met with no Success. At Night all our Provisions were exhausted and we are at least five Days Journey from the Habitations on Mobile River. The Weather fine and exceeding warm.

Monday 25th March. Set out and attempted to cross the River which is called "Changai," but it was so rapid and so broad that it was utterly impossible. Return'd back to take the Road for a Town, called Concha & found it on our Right at the Distance of a Mile. Pass'd through a hilly & very rocky Country and in about a League and half from where we turn'd off we came to a large Creek called 'Taliahatche,' which we cross'd with some but no great Trouble. The Banks of this Creek are fertile. Pro-

ceed / ed and pass'd through a hilly Pine Barren Country, mixed with Oak, where we met with a great deal of Lime Stone & Rock. At 2 in the Afternoon came to a Hill from which I had a very extensive Prospect, the only one I have seen since leaving Natchez. About 4 came to an Indian Camp on the Banks of a large Creek called *"Apeca"* by the Natives and *Bayouc Cray* by the French; Here we got Provisions which came very seasonably. After crossing this deep & very rapid Creek which for Fear of Accidents I stripped myself naked to do, we repacked our Cavalry & proceeded for more than a Mile with our People always up to the Breast & frequently Neck in Water, when we came to a deep Creek tho' narrow over which I swam on Horseback. Came to high Land & unpacked. In traversing this Swamp, we procured an / Indian for our Guide or else I imagine it wou'd have been attended with great Risque and Danger.

Tuesday 26th March. Set out and travelled till 9 through a very fine Country, cover'd mostly with Oaks, mixed with Pines and Wahoos, Came to the great Mobile Road on our Right which turns off at Right Angles from the one leading to Concha. Pass'd on a little way in the Mobile Path and waited for the Indian we saw before who had promised to furnish us with Provisions. Continued here some time during which the Indian Interpreter and one of our People went to the Village to enquire for Food. Soon after one of them return'd and informed us that to avoid a very dangerous Creek called 'Pagony' on the Mobile Road, it was best to go through / Cuncha. Accordingly proceeded & went through a delightful Country, cover'd with Oak thinly mixed with Pine, when after travelling for near a large League we got to the Town. At this Place the Inhabitants were very hospitable, on alighting, they spread Bear Skins for us to sit upon and soon after brought large Jars of Homony which tho' unseasond even with Salt I then thought delicious eating. Bargaind for our Provisions which consisted of Parch'd Corn, pounded, some Caravanses & Fowls. Proceeded for about three Miles from the Village and meeting good Cane Breaks for our Cattle we encamped. The Village of Cuncha is prettily situated and the Soil about it is good. The Indians are cleaner than those of Mongulacha and the Women much neater & infinitely more handsome. On leaving their Town, they / fill'd my Pockets with crack'd Hickory Nutts and

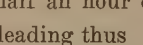
sent a Guide with us to prevent our taking a wrong Path. A little to the Eastward of this Place is a Hill which afforded the same Prospect behind as I remarked yesterday was before us, so that these Hills are reciprocally Prospects to each other.

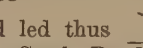
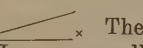
Wednesday 27th March. Set out early and after passing one Hill we came into a most charming Country, cover'd with Oaks, Beech, Wahoos, & a few Pines here & there. In the Afternoon pass'd over some high Hills & then came to a Swamp where there is a Creek which is dangerous after heavy Rains. Pass'd it, having unpacked our Horses for the Purpose & encamped at the Foot of a Hill with remarkable Pines at the Top. This Creek is called Pagony as before. Two horses tired this day.

/ Thursday 28th March. Set out, Pass'd through a hilly Country cover'd with Oaks & Pines. The Tops of the Hills sometimes rocky. At 5 we came to some Natural Fields, the Grass of which having been burnt this Year made them look extremely pleasant. The Face of the Country, Oaks mixed thinly with Pines, The Fields cover'd with Strawberrys and a great Variety of other Flowers. In the Morning we met one Hannah an Indian Trader, who inform'd us that we were five Days Journey from Mobile. Met likewise three Indians with two Horses loaded with Eight Kegs of Rum. Proceeded, came to a Cane Break and encamped.

Friday 29th March. A Mare having foald & the other Horses wanting Rest, I concluded upon proceeding alone with / two of the strongest. Accordingly parted our Provisions and set out with my Black servant. Pass'd through a hilly Country with here & there some beautifull Vallies, The Trees Oaks & Pines, Alternately, but generally mixed. Near the Runs & in the low Grounds I observed prodigious Quantities of Wild Honeysuckles, there were other Flowers but I did not know them. At 11 came to Hills cover'd entirely with Oaks and encamped. The Weather rainy with much Thunder & Lightning. Proceeded through Pine Barrens mixed with small Oaks, sometimes Hilly & sometimes low swampy Land. Came to a Cane Break at Sunset and encamped.

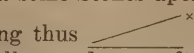
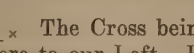
Saturday 30th March. Set out early & proceeded through Pine Barrens for about a League & then came to a small Black Creek, over which some People have built a Log / Bridge, which has been almost carried away by heavy

Rains. Here we were obliged to swim our Horses over. Pass'd on through Pine Barren with much low wet Land, then to high Land where I met with a great Quantity of small red Gravel. Rested untill two & then proceeded, in about half an hour came to a Place called the Forks, the Roads leading thus 

the South line being the Mobile Road, turn'd off into the S. East Path and blazed a Tree as a Mark for the People behind to know which Rout I had taken. Pass'd two or three Cane Breaks where there was the Appearance of much Cattle having been drove and then through Pine Barrens & Bay Galls so full of Water that it was with the utmost Difficulty I preserved our Horses from being bogg'd. At 4 rose / a Hill on the Summit of which a Road led thus  The Cross being the S. East or Cattle Road which I followed. Pass'd on a little way through Pine Barren with a few small Oaks and then came to another Fork leading thus  The Cross being the Cattle Path. At the Angle I saw a small Oak Tree blazed quite round with a Notch underneath. Here I was in the utmost Dilemma which Road to persue and most ardently wish'd I had followed the great Mobile Path. Pass'd on in the Cattle Path and encamped near a fine Cane Break on the Right.

Sunday 31st March. Set out early and proceeded through Pine Barrens & Bay Galls, the low Land exceedingly / wet and miry. Pass'd several extensive Cane Breaks and some Hills which were gravelly, Unpacked at 11 and rested our Horses untill one o'Clock when I set forwards and was soon overtaken by the Company behind who had picked up some Horses on the Road which they made use of to ease the others, being greatly fatigued as well as ourselves. Proceeded through Pine Barrens with Cane Breaks occasionally on each side the Road; At half past three we came to the great Mobile Path again, from which another Path led off to the Left which we followed and is known by passing close at the Head of a beautifull Meadow. At 5 came to a very bad Swamp in which there is a Creek over which we swum our Horses with Difficulty. / Proceeded untill Seven and encamped on a Sandy Hill cover'd with Pines and Scrubby Oaks.

Monday 1st April. Set out early and pass'd through Pine Barren and Scrubby Oaks, Several fine Cane Breaks

on each side & some Stones upon the Hills. At 11 came to a Road leading thus  The Cross being the one we did not follow and soon after came to another leading thus  The Cross being the one we travelled in. Both these were to our Left. Proceeded and unpacked at a small Cane Break on the Right. Parted our Provisions which consisted of a small Measure (less than a Pint) of Boild Whole Corn each Man. Our Dogs scarcely able to walk through Fatigue & Hunger. Our Company frequently considering / whether (if we did not soon come to the Habitations) they should boil their Bear Skins or kill the Foal. I proposed the latter but one of the People who had been at such kind of Work in travelling from Mexico to the Mississippi, said it wou'd be too sweat to eat. Proceeded through Pine Barren and at 3 came to a small Creek in a Swamp over which we swum our Horses. A little further we came to another which was rapid, cross'd it with difficulty and lost one of our Horses which was carried away by the Stream. The others we saved by haling over with our Tackling. At this Place we met with a Party of Thirteen Creeks or Talapouses, headed by one M'Gillivray, a Half Bred * Man, they were curiously painted according to their Cus / tum in War and said (to use the Leaders own Expression who spoke broken English) that they were hunting Chactas. They had three Prisoners who I believe were Women as I understood they were not to be sacrificed, but I did not see them, being on the other side the Creek. To our great Satisfaction we learnt from these Indians that the Plantations were not far off. Repack'd and proceeded through Pine Barrens until Seven when the Darkness of the Night obliged us to encamp. Judging from the Barking of Dogs and the lowing of Calves that some Habitation was near us I wrote a French Note to Monsr. Simond Favre to request a Supply of Provisions, fortunately it was his House that we were near and he obligingly sent us, Bread Pork and Eggs, which proved a most welcome Present. / Sitting at our Camp, two Indians of the Chacta Nation came up without either being seen or heard, at last finding no Creeks in our Company they discover'd themselves. They seem'd anxious to avoid the Party we had met with and by the Advice

* The Son of an Indian Trader by a Creek Woman.

of Le Fleur our Interpreter went to conceal themselves at some of the Plantations.

Tuesday 2d April. Proceeded from our Camp and went to Mr. Favres where we were civilly entertained. Here we saw another Party of Talapouses who were likewise on the Hunt for Chactas. dispatched our Horses by Land and proceeded, myself by Water to Mobile where I arrived on Wednesday. The People settled on the Banks of this River appear very sickly and wan. The Land on the East side is low & on the West there are pretty high Bluffs, where the Inhabitants live. It is now so well known / that it needs no Description. Rested here a few Days and then proceeded for Panzacola, where I was courteously received by the Governor and General Haldimand. Finis.

Endorsed. Narrative of a Journey / through several parts of / the Province of West Florida / in the Years 1770 & 1771. / by Mr. Mease.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 30) Pensacola 29th August 1771.

My Lord,

In consequence of the provision which was thought proper to be made for the Building a Government House within this Province signified to me in Your Lordships Dispatch No. 2. I consulted with the Gentlemen of His Majestys Council upon the Plan which they should think most proper to be carried into execution, and upon the situation they thought most advisable to Erect the House; who were of Opinion that the properest place for building a Government House was within some part of the Picketted Grounds, which take up a very Considerable quantity of Land in the Center of the Town, and is called the *Garrison*. As I had been informed that Brigadier General Haldimand had reason to expect that he should shortly receive directions from Lieutenant General Gage to build Barracks within the Garrison: I thought proper to acquaint him of my intentions relating to the House, and beged to be informed of the situation and manner in which he proposed erecting these Barracks, and desired to consult with him thereupon, that the new Buildings proposed might not interfere, or incommode each other. As Your Lordship will see by the Inclosed copy of a Letter which I wrote to him upon the Subject: and was much surprized by his Answer to my Letter (a Copy whereof is also here inclosed) to find that this Fort or Garrison is intrusted to *his care*, and that he does

not think himself authorized to *allow* any building to be Erected in it, untill he shall have received directions from the Commander in Chief thereupon. I should have imagined by the Brigadier's Letter, that he had some particular powers, or Commission from His Majesty entrusting the Garrison to his care; but before I left England I had a Copy of General Gage's Commission delivered to me by Your Lordships directions, together with an Extract of a Letter from Welbone Ellis Esquire His Majestys then Secretary at War to the Earl of Hallifax, dated War Office 7th February 1765 explaining His Majesty's intentions respecting the powers of His Civil and Military Commanders in North America; by which I understand that the Orders of the Commander in Chief, and under him of the Brigadier General are to be supreme in all *Military* matters, and are to be obeyed by the *Troops* as such, in all Civil Governments of America. These powers in my opinion only respect the Troops in Military Matters, and I will not suppose can be extended so far as to entrust any Fort or Garrison within this Province solely to the care of the Brigadier, when I find that His Majesty by His Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain has "given and Granted unto me full power and authority, by and "with the advice and consent of His Council to erect raise and "build in His said Province such and so many Forts Castles "Cities Boroughs Towns and Fortifications as I by the advice "aforesaid shall judge necessary, and the same or any of them "to Fortify with Ordinance Amunition, and all sorts of Arms "fit and necessary for the security and defence of His said "Province and by the advice aforesaid the same again or any of "them to demolish or dismantle as may be most convenient." The Constitution has vested this power in the Crown, and the recital of the Act of 13 and 14 Car. 2 Ch. III declares that the Sole and Supreme power Government, and Command of all Forts, and places of Strength within all His Majesty's realms and Dominions is and by the Laws of England ever was, the undoubted right of His Majesty, and His Royal Predecessors which power and command within any of His Majesty's Provinces, must naturally be delegated in my opinion to the Person by Him appointed to be His Captain General and Governor in Chief of such Province, he being His Majesty's immediate representative within the same. The Commander in Chief of the Troops in North America in his Commission, has no powers or Command vested in him over any Forts or Garrisons within the jurisdiction of any Civil Governor; and therefore could not delegate any such Command to the Brigadier, who does not

distinguish that his powers and Command only extend to the Troops. And had such claim been asserted in a time of War and immediate danger and the Command of the Garrison been denied me, I should have considered it as an high misdemeanor and a violation of the Laws of the Land; as the Kings Representative must be the only Person answerable for the Province or in case of necessity that could Capitulate for any Garrison within the place of his residence. I think that the line of the respective Commands of the Civil Governor and Brigadier General, is so clearly drawn as to be easily understood, but as the Brigadier and myself disagree in Opinion, I shall do no more than assert the right I apprehended to be vested in me by my Commission; and lest this disagreement in Opinion should hereafter prove disadvantageous to His Majesty's service, and detrimental to the Province, which it is my Duty to prevent, I must request that this point in dispute may be Explained, and that His Majesty's pleasure may be known thereupon, and I shall with all duty and Submission acquiesce in whatever shall be settled by His Royal determination.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect
My Lord, Your Lordships
Most Obedient & Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honble. The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 29th Augst. 1771. / Govr. Chester / (No. 30) / R 5th Decr. / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 36) Pensacola 28th September 1771

My Lord

In my Letter No. 24 I transmitted to Your Lordship the Copy of a Letter that I had received from Lieutenant Governor Durnford containing observations on the Western parts of this Province from whence he had then just returned, and I therein promised when furnished by fuller information to give Your Lordship some farther accounts of that part of the Country together with Mr. Durnfords sentiments of the Cut that has been proposed between the River Mississippi and the River Ibberville. I now transmit *five Maps of the Lands near Fort Bute, the River

* [Sic!]

Mississippi, Ibberville, Amit, and Comit which have now been more perfectly examined than heretofore. These Maps also contain remarks on the Rivers, Soil and Situation of the Country, and I believe are done with more accuracy than any others heretofore transmitted from hence. Your Lordship will observe in one of these Maps the Plan of a Town laid out on the Mississippi near to the Ibberville which we propose to Establish, and to call it Harwich. This Spot is universally thought to be very proper for the building a Town, as it will be a Magazine, (if the Mississippi settles) for supplying the upper Country with British Manufactures, and the Indian Traders with Goods many of whom are now supplied from Orleans. The produce of the Country will be exported from hence, and all the Furs and Peltry that comes down the Mississippi (great quantities of which now go to Orleans). The Communication may be either thro the Mississippi, or the River Ibberville, which last, and so thro' the Lakes may be made easy at no great expence for small Vessels drawing five or six feet water, and for such would be preferable to the Communication by the Balize. If the Establishing of this Town is approved of it will be necessary to give the inhabitants some protection, and in the Plan four Redoubts and Brick Block-Houses are proposed which should be supported by Troops. Mr. Durnford's observations on the River Ibberville are, That "The Loggs which were formerly cut have sunk to the bottom "some few excepted which appear in the Amit, the sunken "Logs help to cause obstructions in different parts which require "much trouble to remove, when these rafts are loosened they "float a small distance, and form others untill they enter the "River Amit which is too wide to be Block'd by Logs; some few "Trees have fallen across the Ibberville since the attempt was "made to clear this River, nothing appears now wanting but to "destroy by fire when the River Ibberville is dry, the remaining "Logs which fill up the bed of the River and prevent the pur-"pose first intended in cutting up this wood from being answered, "for were these Logs removed the body of water issuing into "this Channel from the Mississippi might annually deepen it "and more especially if the proposed Cut should be made, as "the Mississippi water, would then enter into this River with a "far greater violence, and more than twice the Quantity of "water which now doth by the present Channel, and is only Eddy "water, therefore cannot act with great force being also stopped "by very considerable Rafts at the Entrance of the Ibberville: "when the Mississippi is high the Current is very strong, and "will be greater if the Channel is made, the Ibberville will

"probably deepen and widen, or both, otherwise the Current "will be too strong to row against it: The River Ibberville, near "Fort Bute was within two or three inches of the Bank, but "lower down the Bank increased, and near the Forks was above "six feet high." Your Lordship will observe that the Ground is mark'd out between the River Mississippi and Ibberville, in one of the Maps thro' which the proposed Cut would pass. Mr. Durnfords sentiments on this Cut are that it is practicable; but his Estimate of the Expence which will attend it, is much greater than the immediate advantages that can arise to the Province from the Carrying it into execution. The remarks which he makes on the River Amit are as Follows. "This River as far "as the Comit is Navigable for Vessels drawing five feet Water, "but for some distance upwards it is Extremely shallow, in "many parts there is not more than two feet and a half water, "the River was low at the time that I visited it, but it raises "five, six, or seven feet after Rains. The Comit, lately raised "twelve feet in twenty four hours, and fell as soon; the face "of the Country as far as came under my notice is small Hills, "intersected with little Gully's, which immediately receive the "water and pour it into the large Streams which causes their "sudden rise after Rains, the Lands are every where rich and "fertile. North of the junction of the Ibberville, Southward "towards Lake Maurepas the Land seems gradually to descend "and also appear less rich, the Canes deminish in their size, "the hard wood is inferior in Quality and height to that up the "River, near the Lakes the Lands are more adopted for Rice, "than any other produce. Bear, Deer and wild Fowl are plenty "on the Banks of this River which abounds also with plenty "of fine Fish of various kinds; in general these Lands are valu- "able being easily cleared, as great part is Cane Land. This "River and its branches if well settled would produce many "valuable Commodity's, in particular Indigo, Rice Hemp and "Cotton. The Soil in some parts is a brown fat Earth, and high "up a whiteish Earth mixed with Marl and a Clay Bottom. The "Branch of the Ibberville as far up as the Forks, is supplied "with its water from this, when that River is dry; about the end "of September this River is low, but rises again with every "rain."

Mr. Durnford acquaints me that he has received information from Indians that there is a Communication from the Amit a small distance above the junction of the Comit, which runs in an East Course near the North West Branch of a large River called Niatabinie and which empty's itself into the North side

of Lake Maurepas, and runs into some of the Chactaw Towns, and that there is reason to believe with very little Land carriage a communication may be found to the Bay of St. Louis as from the interior part of that Bay the Indians pass to the River Perle, from which a Branch communicates with a River which empty's itself into the Lake Pontchartrain, and as many rivers empty themselves into this Lake which run from the North some of their interior branches very probably draw near each other and the distance from the River Tanchipahoe, to Lake Maurepas is very trifling, by the assistance of some of the Chactaw Indians who usually hunt on these Rivers, it may be easily known if such a Communication can be had, and in case of a rupture with Spain we might with more safety communicate with the River Mississippi, by such an interior passage than any other way, and by being in strict friendship with the Chactaws this passage would be very secure, as the Spaniards would scarcely venture to interrupt us from Orleans, and they might be greatly annoyed by the Chactaw Indians who are not far from the Lakes, and whose friendship we must be careful to obtain. If this Inland Navigation is found practicable it will be of great utillity to a Township, which is recommended to be laid out near to the junction of the Comit, and Amit, the distance is only about 15 Miles to the Batton Rouge, and the Lands between the Rivers Mississippi and Amite Superior in goodness to those on the Banks of the Mississippi contiguous to this part. If the Township of the Amit is approved of it is thought a Post should be also established there to contain a Church, to be defended by forty men or occasionally a greater number, as they would be able to give assistance to the Mississippi and keep the Chactaw and Mississippi Indians in order who hunt near these Lands. The Expence of this Establishment in putting up a Redoubt is estimated at £400.0.—And two Batteaus have been recommended to be kept here capable of Rowing ten Oars and to carry 30 men, the one to maintain the Communication with Lake Maurepas and the other for the River Amit.

Indeed I also transmit to Your Lordship, an Estimate of Expences thought necessary to be incurred in establishing ourselves on the Mississippi, but I cannot agree in opinion, that all these expences are necessary at present. Our first attention should be to draw Inhabitants together, and form a settlement, Canals and Inland Navigations may afterwards be Effected, when they will prove useful to an Inhabited Country; and I think that instead of incurring the Expences that will attend the Cut it wou'd be more advisable for Government to grant an

Annual Sum for the use of the Province, to be expended in transporting gratis such settlers as are desirous of coming from Europe, or the Northern Colonies to the Mississippi, who should be settled in Townships, and protected by Troops, and in a very few years we should have such formidable settlements in the Western parts of this Province, and such numbers of Inhabitants, as not to require the farther protection of Government. These would also be so great a Check on the Indians in those parts, that by a little management we should secure the Interests of all the Savages on the Mississippi.

I am confident that the great objection which has been raised, to the settling of the Mississippi is, that a Communication thro the Lakes cannot at all times be kept open between this place, and that part of the Country, except strong Posts are erected upon the Lakes and at other places to keep the Communication open, or a more secure inland Navigation can be discovered, as the Inhabitants on that River and their properties would in Case of a War with Spain fall as sacrifices to the Spaniards; but should a rupture with Spain ensue it is possible that the Navigation and Communication with the Mississippi thro the Lakes might for a short time be interrupted, unless Posts were Established in proper places to keep the Communication open; Yet if the Chickesaw, Chactaw and Mississippi Indians are kept in our Interest, (an object that will always be attended to) the Inhabitants in these parts, would still be secure at Home both in their Persons and Properties, for no force that the Spaniards could collect at Orleans was this Country settled would attempt to proceed up the River, or attack the Inhabitants, on the Contrary all the settlements on the West side of the River Mississippi would be abandoned and every Spanish Settler in Louisiana must take refuge in the Town of Orleans or suffer their lives and properties to be destroyed by the Savages. It is universally allowed that if the Mississippi was settled West Florida from its situation would soon become one of the most flourishing Colonies in America, and would be of such consequence to Great Britain, that it is generally imagined should a War be comenced against Spain that an expedition would very soon be undertaken against New Orleans, as the Acquisition of that Place would secure to us the whole of Louisiana, together with the immense interior Country to the Northward, and we should then soon be acquainted with the various Inland passages on the west side of the River Mississippi, which lead towards Mexico. I am informed that the best method of attacking New Orleans in case of a War, would be by an army of the Kings Troops, and

Irregulars to assemble at Fort Pitt in Pensylvania, from whence they might proceed unmolested down the River Ohio to our settlement on the Mississippi the distance is great, but they will have a rapid Current in their favor, and when they arrive, if this Country is settled may be supplied with all kinds of Provisions, and necessaries, and then joined by the Savages, who previously may be prepared will with greater ease attack New Orleans, than any Army Coming by Sea thro the Balize and up the River. But as I am not Master of the Geography of the Country thro which such an Army would pass, I can only give the sentiments of others. the Commander in Chief from his information of the Country would be better enabled to judge of such a measure. But at all Events great attention should be paid to the Indians on the Mississippi.

The best information that I have of the number of the small Tribes of Indians on the Mississippi who were settled there when this Province was Ceded to His Majesty is as follows.

Pascagoulas	25	Warriors.
Mobilliens	4	Do.
Chactow	7	Do.
Allabamont	33	Do.
Tensa	12	Do.
Chittamasha	27	Do.
Houmas	25	Do.
Appalusas	40	Do.
Tonicas	12	Do.
Oufoe	7	Do.
Biloxi	45	Do.
Total	237.	

Several of these small tribes were settled on the River Amit, but since our taking possession of this Province have retired to the Spanish side of the Mississippi. The Chief of the Allabamonts applied to Lieutenant Governor Durnford when he was at the Ibberville to come over again to our side; and Mr. Stuart has directed Lieutenant Thomas the Indian Commissary on the Mississippi to acquaint such of the Tribes who were under our protection after the Peace that if they chose to return they shall be taken care of. This I think a very proper measure for they alone in time of War might annoy us much, on the Mississippi, if disaffected to us and on the Contrary if attacked be of great service in distressing the Spaniards. Should these Tribes be prevailed upon to return and we preserve our friendship with the Chactaws their Interests may be with very little attention firmly secured to us.

I have also herewith transmitted three Maps of the different

parts of the Province, on which the several Grants, that have passed in this Province are marked, and the Grantees names, with the Quantity of acres in each Tract are mentioned, by one of these Your Lordship will see that the greatest part of the Front on the Mississippi, from Manchac to the Natchez has been granted & that to Persons, who have never made any improvements whatsoever, should these Tracts continue to lay uncultivated it will prove detrimental to the settlement of this Country, and as most of the Grantees are incapable of cultivating such large quantity's of Land as have been Granted to them, it would be much more for the Interest of the Colony that these Lands, being now forfeited shou'd be re-granted in small Tracts to such persons as will really make improvements. This I before mentioned to Your Lordship in my Letter No. 24. And if You should agree with me in opinion, I will take care to observe such directions and proceedings in vacating these Grants, and in regranting to others as I shall hereafter receive.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord, Your Lordships,

Most Obedient, and Humble Servant

Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 28th Septr. 1771 / Governor Chester / (No. 36) / R 23d December. / Entd.

Estimate of the Expence which will attend making the proposed Cut from the River Mississippi to the River Ibberville.

To Digging and removing 129,000 Cubic yards of Earth in making the said Cut (being 600 yards in length 20 yards wide above 13 yards wide at the Bottom, and 6 yards deep . . . @ 1/— Shilling per Cubic yard	6480.0.0
To Intrenching Tools for said service	100.0.0
	£6580.0.0
To removing the wood in the Bottom of the River Ibberville below the Cut proposed, and clearing away all obstructions to give a free passage to the water of the Mississippi	150.0.0
Estimate of the Expence of putting up, four Redoubts and Brick Blockhouses round the new proposed Town, at Manchac and at the Canal proposed	
To Erecting a Redoubt of Earth with a Brick Blockhouse to contain 30 men to guard the South end of the Town the Canal proposed and the passage of the Mississippi	350.0.0
To Erecting a large Redoubt East of the Center of the proposed Town, with a Brick Parapet capable of containing a Church, built in such a manner as to answer the purpose of Defence with 80, or 100 Men	450.0.0

To Erecting two lesser Redoubts, one at the South, the other at the North end of the Town, with Brick Blockhouses capable of lodging 30 Men, the lower floor of one to serve as a Jail..	700.0.0
Estimate for erecting and putting up a Redoubt and Brick Blockhouse at the Natchez to contain 60 Men, with a Ditch and Brick Parapet	850.0.0
Estimate of a Covered row Boat to be made Musquet Proof and to Row with 16 or 20 Oars for the service of the Mississippi..	70.0.0
	£9150.0.0

The above Estimate appears to me to be the immediate necessary Expences to be incurred in Establishing Ourselves on the Mississippi, I have proposed Brick as being more durable, Defensible, and in a few years less Expensive to Government, than any other Material, and from the Quality of the Earth believe Brick may be made good and cheap at the Ibberville, and most parts of the Mississippi.

Elias Durnford Engineer
for West Florida.

Endorsed. In Govr. Chester's (No. 36) of the / 28th Septr. 1771.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No. 37) Pensacola 29th September 1771

My Lord,

Inclosed I transmit to Your Lordship a Copy of the Minutes of the Council of this Province from the 23d day of April last to the 9th of this present month. Your Lordship will see by the Minutes of Council of the 2d of August last, that Mr. Stuart the Superintendent of Indian affairs appeared to be in some doubt respecting the measures that Your Lordship might wish should be pursued by him with the Indians, and desired to have certain extracts of Letters, which were transmitted from hence upon Indian affairs, to afford him farther information; which were accordingly furnished him the next day, and on the 2d of this month I laid before the Council two Letters with their inclosures which I received from him relating to Indian matters, and as they required information on points which very much concerned us, I desired the Sentiments of the Board thereupon, who accordingly on the Ninth Instant gave me their opinions in a report, the Copy of which is Entered on the Minutes of that day. Immediately after the receipt of this report I sent a Copy of it to Mr. Stuart and gave him my sentiments in a Letter,

upon the different points wherein he desired information, a Copy of which Letter is hereinclosed. Your Lordship may observe that one of the reasons which I gave Mr. Stuart in this Letter, of the propriety of holding a Congress with the Chactaws, was grounded upon an apprehension that the Spaniards at New Orleans had been negotiating with them, and would endeavour to bring them over to their Interest, this apprehension has been in some measure strengthened by the Account contained in a Letter which I have since received from Mr. McIntosh, a very considerable Merchant in the Indian Trade at Mobile, an Extract whereof I also here inclose to Your Lordship.

I do not know from whence Mr. McIntosh has this Information, but most probably, he has received it from some of his Traders in the Chactaw Nation, and as these people are not always to be depended upon, I shall suspend my Judgment on this fact, untill I receive some account thereof from New Orleans, which shall immediately after be transmitted to Your Lordship. It will give me great satisfaction if the opinion and sentiments contained in my Letter to Mr. Stuart respecting the Indians shall meet Your Lordships approbation.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect,
My Lord, Your Lordships, Most Obedient, and
Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough

Endorsed. Pensacola 29th Septr. 1771 / Governor Chester / (No. 37) / R 23d Decemr. / Entd.

Peter Chester to John Stuart

Copy. Pensacola, 10th September 1771

Sir,

I had the honor of receiving your several Letters of the 30th and 31st of last month, and in answer thereto am to acquaint you that as it required a perfect knowledge of the Country and of the temper and disposition of Indians in Order to furnish you with the information you desire, and as the subject matter contained in your Letters is of great importance to the Interests of the Province I thought proper immediately to refer them for the opinion of the members of his Majesty's Council, many of whom have been long resident here, and therefore the better enabled to assist me with their sentiments; and I yesterday

received their report and Opinions upon the same, a Copy whereof is hereinclosed, this report in a great measure coincides with my own sentiments; but I must beg leave to make a few observations thereupon. With regard to the answer of the first Question mentioned in the report, I think that if the Lands which were formerly in possession of the French, and ceded to us by the treaty of Paris can for this reason be considered as our property, the Creeks have never as yet granted us any Lands, either on the Bay of Mobile or Alibama River, for they in that Case instead of granting, have only confirmed to us the quiet possession of Lands they had formerly ceded to the French, and therefore we may with more propriety ask them for an increase of boundary; and altho' I shou'd be glad to procure an extention on the Alibama River, yet I think it would be more advisable, and more for the Interest of the Province first to ask them for the increase of boundary (mentioned in the Councils report) on the River Escambia, which has by my directions lately been examined, and I am informed that at some distance up the River they are very proper for Cultivation. The Creeks come here frequently in great numbers, and expect to be supplyed with Provisions and other Presents, the purchase of the former from the dearness and scarcity, makes it very expensive to Government, therefore if we had Lands that will produce these necessary articles, such as Rice, and Corn we should soon be able to purchase them at a much cheaper rate than at present and by these Lands being so contiguous to this Town they will if settled prove of greater advantage to us than those so distant as the Alibama. The Soil within our present boundary on the Escambia is so barren, that several Industrious persons who had some property were ruined by their attempts of making settlements in this part. Should we succeed in this first object without difficulty, I would then recommend the asking for an Extention on the River Alibama, but this must depend upon the Temper and disposition in which we shall find the Indians upon their arrival. As to the second Question I am in hopes that a renewal of our application for Lands at this time will not be attended with any bad consequences, or tend to excite resentment in the Creeks, who have hitherto given us nothing but Sands and that they may be told with propriety, that as their Brethern provide them with Provisions whenever they come down to see them it is but reasonable they should furnish us with some proper Lands to grow them upon, as they have done to all the Provinces, and not put us to the necessity of bringing them here by Sea from other places.

The best reason in my opinion that we can assign to the third Question, and account to the Creeks for having made settlements so far beyond the Stipulated boundary upon the Alibama River is, that it was owing to a Mistake in the Persons who run them out and not done with the approbation and consent of Government, and that upon my receiving the first intelligence of their parties warning off the Settlers, who had encroached, I directed them to withdraw, who have not since returned to take possession of them, and sent up a talk into their nation, assuring them that I would never allow of any such encroachments, that they proceeded from ignorance in the settlers, and for the future to avoid disputes desired they would send down some of their chiefs to assist us in marking the line. The Treaty with the Creeks in 1765 which contains the boundary line is upon Record in the Secretary's Office, and how so many Tracts came to be surveyed and run out beyond it, or from what cause this neglect proceeded, I will not take upon me to say, as these Surveys were all made and the Grants passed before my arrival in the Province,—but as all the Warrants of Survey direct the Surveyor General to observe the Kings Instructions in laying out tracts, which forbid any encroachments on Lands reserved to the Indians, I must rather impute this proceeding to ignorance, than any willful breach of His Majesty's Instructions.

I agree with the Council in their answer to the first Question contained in your Letter of the 31st of August, and think they have given many weighty reasons why a Congress with the Chactaws should be held at this time—to these I would add that as it seems agreed on all hands Congresses have been promised them, they will naturally imagine when they hear of your arrival, which they have expected, that you come for this purpose, and to fulfill our former engagements—An Indian cannot distinguish whether the persons making these promises are properly authorized to do it or not, if they are made them by white men, whom they conceive to be vested with authority, they believe they will be performed, and if they are deceived will tell us we are liars, and never put confidence in us. I am informed that they have already said they had given us their Lands upon a promise of having congresses, and now we are in possession of them, we think no more of performing our agreements. I believe they have been deceived by Gentlemen not authorized to make these Promises, and therefore in order to remove all Jealousy and to secure their friendship I think it advisable to gratify them at this time.

I also think proper to acquaint you that in the month of June

last when Lieutenant Governor Durnford was upon the Mississippi he received Letters from the Commandants of the Spanish Posts at Fort St. Gabriel and Point Coupee representing the great fears and apprehensions the Spanish Settlers were under, of an attack from the Savages and complaining, that the Indians had been excited to it, by some of the English, and shortly after I received a Letter from the Governor of Orleans on the same subject;—their fears were groundless, as I informed the Spanish Governor; but their apprehensions were great, and there is probable cause to imagine that they began Negociations with the Chactaws, for Lieutenant Governor Durnford was informed immediately after, and before He left the Mississippi both by the french and Indians, that emissaries were sent by the Governor of Orleans to the Chactaws inviting them down, and I have lately seen a Deposition of one Andrew Kerns an Indian Trader who left the Chactaw Nation about the 20th of last month, who swears that it was then Currently reported that the Spaniards had sent a French man into the six Towns of the Chactaws, with invitations to the Chiefs to go down to Orleans, and that Mingoupa a Chief who formerly lived at Tombecby and the Hulloso King or Writing King a Medal Chief with a party were then about setting off for Orleans. Their late apprehensions of a War with us and these other circumstances corrobborating, leave little room to doubt but that the Spaniards are or have been tampering with them, and I think with General Gage that we should endeavour to conciliate their affections, so as to depend upon their support, for had matters come to extremities in the dispute with Spain, these Indians with the Chickesaws would have secured to us almost the whole trade of the Mississippi, and must have been of the greatest service in any of our attacks upon Orleans. This Nation I am told are full *three thousand* men fit to carry arms, that they are treacherous in their dispositions, and many of them still retain a great regard for their old neighbours, that their friendship is not to be obtained or depended upon otherwise than by Presents or compulsion, this latter method we cannot carry into execution, and the former appears to be a proper measure for the reasons before mentioned, and lest our neighbours should take the advantage of our neglect, and draw them over to their Interests, the consequences of which should their desires be refused them whilst you are on the spot, may prove fatal to this Province.

With regard to the Question whether or not Indian affairs with respect to the Chactaws are at present better settled than when Governor Durnford reported upon them to His Majesty's

Secretary of State. I think that it is impossible for me to give a direct answer, as I cannot know what disturbances were among the Indians, or what transactions happened that might alarm Mr. Durnford at the time he reported upon these Indian affairs to the Earl of Hillsborough, but since I have been in the Province I have never seen or heard of any sufficient cause that could induce me in the least to apprehend that the Chactaws altho' dissatisfied, had any real Hostile intentions against us. The Young men will often get Drunk when they can get Liquor, and have then been guilty of irregular behaviour, but I have never heard that these irregularities have been approved of by the leading and head men of the Nations. I think that the people and traders who supply them with rum are more to blame than the ignorant Savages, and in order to restrain the Traders and others from furnishing them with the Quantities of Rum that they do in the Nations of which the Chiefs have so often made complaint to me I think that application should be made to the Earl of Hillsborough for Commissary's to be appointed in the Creek, Chactaw and Chickesaw Nations that they may keep those licentious unruly Traders under some proper restrictions, for I am of opinion that most of the disputes and misunderstandings between the white People and the Savages are owing to the irregularities of the Traders, which proceed from there not being any Persons in the Nations who have a power to regulate and adjust the differences that too frequently arise between them and the Savages owing in a great measure to their imposing and cheating the poor ignorant Indians which might easily be prevented if Commissary's were appointed among them.

To the last Question in your Letter of 31st Augt. I think that the Chactaws should not be treated with for any Lands upon the Mississippi at present, as they have never made any Claims to those we have surveyed in that part, the small Tribes who were in Possession of them when Louisiana was ceded by the Crown of France to His Majesty should be paid for them when they demand it.

I have the Honor to be with great regard
Sir, Your most Obedient, and
Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

John Stuart Esquire.

Endorsed. (Copy) / Letter from Govr. Chester to / Mr. Stuart dated / Pensacola 10th Septr. 1771. / In Govr. Chester's (No. 37) of / 29 Septr. 1771.

Extract of a Letter from Alexander McIntosh dated Mobile 12th September 1771

I am informed from undoubted authority that several of the Chactaw Chiefs with their attendants, are gone to Orleans and as it is said by Private invitation from the Spanish Governor. Should this be the Case the Consequence to this Province is too plain to require being explained here.

I am &ca

Endorsed. Extract of a Letter from / Mr. McIntosh / In Govr. Chester (No. 37) of / 29 Septr. 1771.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

(No.) Mobile 28th December 1771

My Lord,

Since my last dispatches to Your Lordship, we had the pleasure of meeting most of the Chiefs of the upper Creek Nation at Pensacola & I now embrace this first opportunity which has offered since the meeting, of communicating to you the result of our conferences.

They met the Superintendant & myself with assurances of their friendship, and good disposition towards us, & seemed pleased to find that the encroachments, which they complained had been made upon their Lands, by our settlers, proceeded thro' mistake, & I hope their jealousy upon that head is entirely removed.

As it was uncertain when we should have another meeting with this Nation in presence of the Superintendant, & their good humour concurring, we thought it a favourable opportunity to ask a small Cession of Lands on the Banks of the River Escambia, which would not interfere with their hunting Grounds, this Tract had been previously explored, & upon which, by the Surveyors report there are Lands very proper for Cultivation, a request of this kind we thought could not tend to excite the least jealousy, as we explained to them, that the Lands which they had formerly ceded to us, were nothing but a Bed of Sand, & the extent not so great as they had formerly suffered the Spaniards to possess. They evaded our request by saying, the property of their Lands was vested in common among them, &

belonged equally to every Man & Child in their Nation, & that they were not authorized to make any Grant without consulting their whole Nation, but at the same time proposed to increase our boundary four Miles, up the River Escambia—the Lands contained within this proposed encrease of boundary we knew to be barren, & not worth the acceptance, We therefore thought it best to decline their Offer, & give them time to consider & consult among themselves of our request—The result was, that they could not deviate from their former answer, & we thought it highly improper to press the matter, but rather to commend their firmness, thank them for the offer they had made, & leave them to consult the whole Nation upon this requisition—

We also recommended to them, that the old boundary Line between us should now be finally settled & marked, in order to prevent all misunderstandings on that head for the future, & agreed with them upon the Course where the Line between us, is to run, the marking of which they would not attend at present, altho so strongly recommended to them, alledging that it would interfere with their hunting season, but their Cheif promised that he would himself attend the marking of it in the Month of May next.

We heard all their complaints with great attention, & made them every promise to redress their greivances, that will be in our power to perform—On the other hand we did not omit to tell them of their faults & misconduct which they seemed sensible of, but attributed these proceedings to their Young Men, who had acted contrary to the advice & opinion of the Cheifs of the Nation.

The Superintendant gave them considerable Presents upon parting, & they all appeared to go off well satisfied & contented.—

Mr. Stuart tells me that he has great reason to believe our Requisition for the Lands on the River Escambia, will be granted by the whole Nation, without tending to create jealousies in any of their minds, & he is in daily expectation of a Messenger from them with a favourable answer.

As I have not been furnished with a Copy of this Congress, I must refer Your Lordship, for a particular account of our proceedings, to the Copy of the Minutes thereof, forwarded by the Superintendant to Your Lordship in this Packet.

My Attendance at Mobile being necessary to assist Mr. Stuart, at the ensuing Congress with the Chickisaw & Chactaw Nations, I accordingly set out from Pensacola on the 27th of last Month, on this business, & have been detained here a long time waiting the arrival of the Indians, who have been exceeding slow in their

movements; there are now between fifteen & sixteen hundred arrived, & more are expected. The Arrangements necessary to be done before the opening of the Congress are now gone thro' with, & we propose to begin our Talks in a few days, I shall not fail when the business is compleated to transmit to your Lordship an account of our proceedings.

I am now to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordship's Dispatch No. 4. together with its inclosures, which arrived in the last Packet as also a Letter from Mr. Pownall dated the 4th of September last acknowledging the receipt of several of my Dispatches. I shall take care to publish His Majesty's Order in Council of the 7th of June last, disallowing three Acts passed in this Province in 1767 & 1769—

I must beg Your Lordship will excuse my not transmitting Duplicates of my last Dispatches by this Packet, & attribute the reason to my being absent from Pensacola—

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect,

My Lord Your Lordship's Most Obedient & Humble servant—

Per. Chester.

Rt. Honbe. The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Mobile 28th Decr. 1771 / Governor Chester / (No. — / R 4 March 1772. / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

No. 41. Pensacola, 21st February 1772.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit to Your Lordship, the Copy of a Memorial, which was lately delivered to me by several of the French Roman Catholick Inhabitants, residing at Mobile, and in the District thereof, wherein they request my assistance in representing to His Majesty their desire of obtaining a settled Salary from Government for the support of a Priest of their persuasion, in Order that they may exercize the Worship of their Religion according to the Rites of the Romish Church.

I am informed that their late Priest, Pere Ferdinand, (who continued to perform the Duties of his office for a considerable time after the Cession of this Country to His Majesty) was obliged thro' the inability of the Inhabitants to support him, to retire from Mobile and settle at New Orleans; this man bears an Exceeding good Character, and he would willingly return

to Mobile; provided he had assurances of a Permanent Support.

If such indulgence has been given to any of His Majesty's New Subjects in Canada, or at the Illinois, as set forth in the Memorial, I could wish to have the same extended to the Inhabitants of Mobile, many of whom are useful Settlers, and by such a measure may be induced to remain in the Province, who, otherwise thro Bigottry might desert us.

I will not however take upon me to determine upon the propriety of Governments Countenancing such a measure, and must therefore Submit the Expediency thereof to Your Lordship.

I have the Honor to be with the greatest respect,
My Lord, Your Lordships, Most Obedient, and
Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola 21st Febry. 1772 / Governor Chester / (No. 41) / R 6th May / Entd.

Report of Congress with the Creek Indians

West Florida.

I Peter Chester Esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over this His Majesty's Province of West Florida and other the Territories thereon depending in America Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same Do hereby Certify and make known To all to whom these Presents shall come or may concern that Philip Livingston Junior Esquire who hath Certified the Minutes of a Congress hereunto annexed is Deputy Secretary and Register of this His Majesty's said Province of West Florida duly admitted and Sworn, and that to all Acts and Instruments by him signed and Certified full and Entire faith is and ought to be given.

In Testimony and Confirmation whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great Seal of this Province to be hereunto affixed at Pensacola the twenty second day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Seventy two, and in the twelfth year of His Majesty's Reign.

By His Excellency's Command. Per Chester.
Ph. Livingston Junr. D. Secy.
[in Margin] Seal taken off by Wm. P.

West Florida

At a Congress of the Principal Chiefs and Warriors of the upper Creeks Nation, held at Pensacola in the Province of West Florida, By John Stuart Esquire his Majesty's Sole Agent for and Superintendt. of Indian Affairs in the Southern District of North America.

October 29th 1771.

Present.

His Excellency Peter Chester Esqr. Governor of West Florida.
Frederick Haldimand Esqr. Brigadier General Commanding His Majesty's Forces in the Southern District.
The Honble Elias Durnford Esquire Lt. Govr.
Charles Stuart Esqr. Depy. Superintendt.
The Members of His Majesty's Honble Council.
Captain Carkett of His Majesty's Ship Lowestoff.
Major Dickson and the officers of the 16th Regiment of Foot.

And the following Indian Chiefs.

Emistisiguo ..... Great Medal Chief.
Neothlocko or the Second man..
Tipoy or the Fighter..... } Small Medal Chiefs.
The Beaver Tooth King.....

With the other Ruling Chiefs & principal Warriors of sixteen Towns of the Alibamous, Abekas and Tallipousses.

Joseph Cornell
John Simpson } Interpreters.

After the Usual Ceremony of Smoaking the Calumet of Peace Neothlocko (or the seccond man) spoke as follows.

This is the day allotted us by the Master of Breath to meet our Father on this Land, which was Originally made for the use of us Red men. I am rejoyced to see so many of my White Brethren here; before our White Brethren came to this Land our Situation was much worse than it is at Present we were Originally a Poor People and should have remained so but for your assistance, we were like one that sees a Good thing at a distance; but cannot reach it, however it pleased the Supreme being at last to send our white Brethren to our assistance.

Altho' we Sett off from the nation in a hurry and unprovided with the Necessaries for paying the Usual Compliments to you in our way, yet we meet you with hearts white and Clean, we intend to pay you and the other Two great men here present, the greatest Compliment we are capable of paying, and I wish

it were in our power to do it, with more Ceremony than Circumstances will admit of.

The Appalachicola Tribe were the Original Proprietors of this Land, We therefore hope the Governor will accept of the Title of Appallachicola Meco as the Highest Title we can confer.

The Cussitaw Tribe were always noted warriors and the Cussitaw Town is the greatest War Town in the Nation, we hope the General will accept of the Title of Cussitaw Mico.

As the Alibamas are great in War and Peace and Solicituous for the good of all the Tribes, and as you are the Father of all the Southern Indians and constantly Imployed in taking care of their Interests, we call you Alabama Mico.

The Place and Circumstances of this meeting will not admit of the Ceremonies with which we commonly Confer Titles We therefore hope you will excuse the Want of them. /

He then Addressed his People and desired they would bear in remembrance what was said.—

The Superintendant approved of the seccond man Neothlocko's Sentiments and thanked him for his Title then Proceeded. /

Friends and Brothers

The great giver of Breath has permitted us to meet here this Day, that we may smoke the Calumet of Peace and Brighten the Claim of Friendship which has so long and happily united us together, your white Brethren meet you with hearts free from Malice and bad design. We dont doubt but that You are come in the same good disposition. I gladly Embrace the opportunity of Introducing you to the Governor of the Province and the General of his Majestys Forces, and I desire you will Listen to any talk, which the Governor or General, may have to Deliver You; I will afterwards declare to You the Business of this meeting.—

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the Indians as follows. (Vizy.)

I am heartily glad to see my good Brothers the Creeks at Pensacola; before I crossed the great water I received Orders from the great beloved King, that whenever I should meet any of his good people the Red men, to assure them of his Friendship and protection, and that he had given Orders to his Governors, and other leading men in the Several Provinces in America to treat them as Brothers, so long as they Should behave Peaceably and well affected to his white people, which I have the strongest reason to hope will be for a long Continuance.—

I wish I had it in my power to be more Liberal to the Red men, when they come to Pensacola, but the Land about us is so poor, nothing but a barren Land, Incapable of producing either corn or other Provisions, that it is not in my power to Supply them with what I most sincerely wish to accomplish, therefore it is with you Red Men of the Creek Nation, to grant us Lands for the obtaining those necessarys for your Support, the Limits of which I leave to the management of the beloved men now here present, to settle with you and I Flatter myself you will readily comply with what he shall ask of you, or you must often return without receiving what I shou'd at all times be glad to Furnish you with.

As to any Encroachments made by the White People on your Lands, it was entirely unknown to me, as soon as it came to my knowledge that they had gone beyond the boundary Line, I gave orders to them to withdraw, which the Immediately did, and they have not returned Since, which shows that it was not done with any design of Encroaching on your Lands, but it must be attributed to their not knowing where the Boundary Line was, for the want of its being marked out, but you are now here, I hope that affair will be Settled, that there may be no room left for any future dispute.—

I shall at all times exert myself to See Justice done to my good Brethren the Red men, and if any of the Traders in Your Nation, or other white men Infringe upon the Laws made for their Guidance, or in any other manner act so as to endanger the breaking of the Chain of Friendship between us, which now Subsists, and which I hope is never to be broken, I will Order them to be punished with the greatest Severity, in hopes of deterring others from the Like Offences as well as in Justice to Yourselves.—There is one thing I must beg leave to recommend to you, That is if you think yourselves Injured by any of the Traders, or their followers in your Nation, which may often be Imaginary grievances, that you are not of yourselves to take Sattisfaction, but you must make your Complaint to the Governor of the Province nearest you, or to such other great man in power as the beloved man now here Present, and you will Immediately have Justice done you.

You say the Path is now Streight and white, your observing this recommendation is the way to keep it so, for it a Liberty the great and beloved king does not allow to any of his Subjects. We have many Salutary Laws, for the Protection of the Innocent, as well, for the Punishment of the Guilty, and if any white man Injures a Redman, in his person or property,

he will be punished in the same manner as if he had committed it against one of his white Brethren.

The Several Treaties entered into between the Redmen and white People I shall always pay the greatest attention to, and I hope on your part you will Continue to do the Same, the Strict observation of which will always keep us in Harmony and Friendship; I now take you by the hands and assure you That I am very sincerely your True and faithfull Friend.—

The General then acquainted them That his Sentiments Exactly coincided with the Govrs. and desired they would be attentive to what he had recommended, as the only means of keeping the Chain bright, and thanked them for the Compliments of conferring a Title on him. / —

The Superintendant then addressed in the Indians.

Great Chiefs and warriors, Friends and Brothers,—

I have often met you upon business of the utmost Importance to your Nation, as well as to your white Brothers who are Settled near you, Our talks have always been good and Calculated to maintain Peace, to prevent Violence; and to obtain mutual Justice. It was for Such Good purposes, that by the Kings order, you with the Chiefs of the other nations were met by the Governors of Four Provinces and me at Augusta in Georgia in 1763 with a View to the same desirable objects, I met you here in 1765. the Chiefs of the lower Creeks at Picolata in East Florida in 1765, the Chiefs of the whole nation at Augusta in 1767 1768 and 1769 where we renewed the agreemts. which had been entered into at the General Congress and in order to remove every Stumbling Block from the way, Boundary Lines have been agreed upon dividing the Lands which your Nation has reserved as your own property from what you have thought proper to cede to your white Brethren.

The Boundary Lines between you and Georgia has been actually marked some years ago, through a long extent of Country across Rivers and Morasses. It was a very Laborious but a very necessary work, and altho' many difficulties arose, yet by perseverence we Conquered them and Effected it. The Line between you and this Province, altho' a Session was made by Treaty in 1765 and the Limits Specified is Still unmarked. It is now our as well as your desire and wish That it may be accomplished, with which View I came hither from Charles town, and you have Travelled from your Nation, I trust it will be accomplished to our mutual Sattisfaction; you are the Chiefs and Rulers of a Brave nation, you are Qualified to Govern in Peace as

well as in war, you must be sensible of the advantages which you derive from the neighbourhood of your white Brethren. You have Incontestible Proofs of their Friendship for you and your People. You will therefore consider the bad Policy as well as the Ingratitude of confining them to a Piece of Barren Land incapable of producing any of the necessarys of Life, without you give them Land that produce Corn & mantain Creatures, you cannot expect to be entertained here when you come to see them, we do not want to get your Hunting Grounds, we are not Hunters, we are Planters, an Hundred Miles of Pine Land would be of no Value to us what we ask you can easily spare. It is the Lands on both Sides the Scambia, as far up as a Boat can go, and we want no more, than five Miles back from the River, as far up as the River is navigable, this I hope out of Friendship and gratitude you will grant us, and That you will appoint Persons to see it marked in Company with a Surveyor from this Province before you return to your nation. / —

A String of White Beads. —

At the Congress in this Place with Governor Johnstone and me you said That Friendship between us was new, it was Like new fallen Snow which had hardly whitened the ground, that were united like the new Planted Vines, whose tendrils had just Interwoven, but were not firm, that in the space of four years, if no accident happened, the Snow of Friendship would be deep and cover all Black Spots and the Interwoven Tendrils would grow Strong Like Iron, That at the end of said Period you wou'd have something to tell me, Seven years have Elapsed, during which I have often taken my Brothers by the hand but they have not as yet mentioned any thing particular to me, I must now desire you will declare, if any Promise made you by me remains unperformed and whither or not I have upon all Occasions kept my word with you.

A String of White Beads.

At my arrival here I received the Copy of a Talk from the head men and Warriors of the upper Creeks, Sent to Charles Town and dated at Oakchoys the 1st May last. I remember well the differt. Publick agreemts. which you allude to in it, but I know nothing of any Message sent you by Governor Wright, and delivered to you by Mr. John M'Guillivray I must here set you right where you are mistaken with respect to Stragling Cattle; At the Great Congress at Augusta you proposed That no Cattle shou'd be sufferred to stray beyond the Line, It was then ob-

served to you that you cou'd not expect That an Ox or a Cow shou'd know a Boundary Line that to kill such Stragling Creatures for their Ignorance wou'd be Cruel with respect to them and unkind and very unfriendly with respect to your Brothers, since it wou'd always be in your power to drive them within the Limits. On the other hand any such agreemt. would be leaving an opening for your mad young men (of which you Confess you have a great many among you) wantonly to Kill and destroy the Cattle of Poor People Settled near the line; Surely my Brethren no damage or prejudice can arise to your nation by a few Cows Stragling into your Woods and eating a Little Grass; if Settlements are not made over the Line. I hope my Brothers will not take offence at such Trifles, especially as you yourselves observe we with great reason Complain of Infractions of Treaty and at same time say, that a small breach should not spoil the old white Path. I hope my Brothers will never make a Complaint of this nature any more, or seem to begrudge a Little grass to our Creatures That may straggle beyond the Line, as your Friends may one day or other have an opportunity of relieving you when oppressed with Hunger at the expence of those Creatures Lives.

As Governor Wright has thought proper to answer your talk to me, Copy of which was sent him by Mr. Kemp, I refer you to what he says respecting the Indian said to have been murthered at Augusta, he must from his Situation know that matter better than I do & has a right to judge how far he Considers it as Sattisfaction; he Likewise knows the particulars of what happened to *St. Iago*, that being within his Government, & I again refer you to what he says on that subject, as well as the stipulated reward for Run away Negroes. / —

A few Days after my arrival here I received your message of 15th July, I have heard That the Cherokees wanted to pay their Debts by a session of Land on the west side of Savannah river, but whatever has been Transacted in that business is without my knowledge & Concurrence. It is not my Business to determine whether you or the Cherokees have a Right to that Land. That point you must settle between Yourselves, I can only tell you That as I received no orders to ask the Cherokees for a further session no such requisition was made, and no land can be taken without his Majestys Permission and the Intervention of the Superintendt. I hope we shall have no misunderstanding about the Boundary Line now to be Finished, and as I have complied with your Request in Proceeding for you the Rum you

wrote for, I expect you will also comply with our reasonable request in Granting the Lands upon the Scambia.

A String of White Beads.

I have no more at Present to say I wait for Your Answer, and if you have any Complaints to make this is the proper time.

Emistisiguo speaks.

Father . . The great being above has ordered this meeting the day is Clear and so is my heart, the Road I travelled to meet you is white and I now meet you in Confidence and Friendship, your talks have always been good and I have on all Occassions Listned to them with pleasure, and after having Travelled so far, am rejoyced to see so many of my White Friends who are here present.

I have often talked with you upon former Occassions, & promised to meet you again, this is the Day appointed for that purpose, at former meetings I spoke for my people, it is my Intention to do the same now.

Since my First meeting you at this Place the talks between us have been all white. at that time you told me, That till then you seem'd to hold me by the Point of the Fingers, but for ever afterwards we should be tied together as with an Iron Chain; but as we have no Iron or Chains, I said That my nation was Like a Vine newley Planted near a Strong Tree, to which I compared the white People; That the Branches by which the Vine Clung to the Tree were Still Tender, but if the Vine should continue to Embrace the Tree for Seven years they would be as Strong as Iron, Seven years have Elapsed since and I cannot now Doubt but our Friendship and Union will continue for ever. I Remember the Boundary Line which was agreed upon, at our last meeting in this Place, you then said it should be like a Stone wall not to be removed without mutual Consent. You now propose an Alteration in the line then agreed upon, my nation is numerous, and every Child in it has an equal property in the Land with the First warrior, making any Alteration in the Boundary without the Consent of the whole will be Improper, you know what has so long hindered our making the boundary Line however I engage to come down here and Finish that Business in the Month of May next.

I understood that the Chactaws had given you a Tract of Land in the Forks above the Confluence of Tombechby and Coosa Rivers, At a meeting at Augusta sometime afterwards I

objected to that Session, because the Land is our property, I now object to it again. The Chactaws are our younger Brothers, & not so considerable as we are, they may give Lands on the other side Tombechby River, but on this side of it the Land belongs to us. / —

I now again see my Father and so many warriors face to face with our Hearts Clean and white. I hope it will remain so forever, and that when occasion offers we shall be ready to assist one another. I hope the great giver of Breath will Strengthen our Friendship, That we may live and Die like Brothers. I have at present no more to say, tomorrow we shall meet early and Finish our Talks. / —

Octobr. 30th Wednesday 30th October.

Present as the day before

after Smoaking the Calumet of Peace,

Emistisiguo Speaks

Our Forefathers took the White People by the hands at Charlestown, this I have heard in my Nation & shall always remember, I am now come to strengthen the Friendship that then began; when our forefathers First met the white people the path was dark and Crooked but since that time it has been always Streight, It has and always shall be my endeavour to keep it open and Clear of Thorns and Weeds; perhaps I may Fail, for I think the people of the Present age are not so sensible as they were formerly. It was recommended by an English Governor at Charles Town to open a great and broad path from Charles Town to the Abeka's and thence to the Chickesaws; we did not receive the talk from a Frenchman or a Spaniard, but from an English Governor, and I have accordingly preserved it in my mind, for English Governors have always agreed with our Ruling Chiefs, that every matter should be conducted for our mutual advantage and that we and they should be Considered as the same People. I now meet my Father and the Govr. here in a new place, and I hope we shall be able to settle matters in such a manner as to prevent any misunderstandg. for the time to come you, the Governor and General are now Three Chiefs of our Nation, and we expect that you will Interest yourselves for the Good of our People and that this Talk will always be had in remembrance. The Lands are not the property of the Head Warriors but of the whole Nation in common, every Boy has

a Right in the disposal of them, but as we are now met and you have spoken to me on the Subject I will not be deaf to what you have requested. It is true the Limits have been Settled by a former Treaty, when It was agreed That no alteration should be made, yet I Consider what you now represent and as the Govr. is now a Chief of our Nation, and I hope will be carefull not to suffer any future Encroachmts. on our Lands, I will lend him a Little more Land and I hope he will be carefull of it, and see that it is Improved, that It may be usefull to this Town, and that such of us as Visit him may reap some advantage by it, I have told you how Little it was in my power yet as a Testimony of my Friendship I will take upon me to give a Little you may make your Plantations on both sides the River Cancia or Scambia as far up as the old Spanish Cowpen, The Spaniards upon their First coming to this Land, settled a Boundary with us, but they did not take care to keep within the Limits; they made as Fort upon Cancia beyond the Line; the Consequence of which was a War between them and us & the Quarrel was never accomodated, till a Little time before they left this Place, The Spanish old fort is upon our Land, and it is our Intent to Build a Town at the old Field opposite to said Fort upon Cancia as soon as a Peace can be concluded with the Chactaws. I again explain the distance I now offer which is to the old Cowpen, and further we cannot take upon us to give. / —

The Superintendt. Speaks.—

My Brothers,

I have in my hand a Plan of the Country near this place which I caused to be made Since my arrival here That you and I might understand each other Clearly in Settling the Boundary the Old Cowpen to which you proposed extending our boundary is marked upon it, the addition you propose making to the former Session is only four miles of very Poor Land upon the Banks of Cancia, and it is not worth the trouble of altering the old Lines and drawing a new Treaty for such a Trifle; when I met you here before we were unacquainted with the Quality of the Lands you then Ceded to us, upon examination we Find them to be nothing but Sands Incapable of producing any of the Necessaries of Life in Seven years That they have been possessed by white people, they have not produced so much Provisions as your party will consume at this meeting, your Hunting Grounds we dont want to Interfere with, our Request

of a Little Land on both sides the Cancia or Scambia; as far up as it is Navigable for a Boat is very reasonable and moderate, and such a Cession cannot be attended with any Inconvenience to you, it is absolutely necessary for your Brothers here, and wou'd be more usefull to you in their Possession than in your own, I hope you will Consider my rediness to Comply with your desires as well as the Benefit you receive from the neighbourhood of Your White Brothers, and their Friendship for you, upon all occassions and grant our Request. / —

Emistisiguo Speaks

Father

If you had sent us word before we left our Nation, That this was to be a talk about giving more lands, we shou'd not have come down without First having Consulted our people relative to it and then I cou'd have given a proper answer to your proposal. / —

Superintendt. Speaks.

Brother

I sent for all your Principal Chiefs to Confer upon matters of Consequence to us both particularly to Establish Firmly, and make the Boundary line. / Your Chiefs never met me before without being authorized to Treat of and Transact all sorts of Business with me, I expected you wou'd have met me here now with the same authority

Emistisiguo Speaks.

Our Chiefs cou'd not attend some were at War and some were employed abroad upon business of Consequence to us I cannot therefore take upon me to say any more, but I will Consult the other Chiefs here and take their advice which I will Communicate to you. /

Superintendt.

I desire then That you will retire and Consider of the matter and about four o'Clock in the afternoon we will again meet you and hear the result of your Consideration.

The Congress broke up and the Chiefs retired to Consult. In a stort time afterwards Joseph Cornel the Interpreter was

sent by them to acquaint the Superintendt. That as the Chiefs after Consultation and mature deliberation, found they cou'd not take upon themselves to gratify us fully in our request for Lands on the Scambia, and as we had rejected the offer they had taken upon them to make of a Small addition, they wou'd not give us the Trouble of another meeting, and therefore desired the Superintendt. wou'd order Boats to carry them aCross the Bay That they might return to their Nation. / The Superintendt. returned for answer That as upon Consultation they thought themselves not authorized to comply with our request, he was far from blaming them for not doing it, on the Contrary he thought their Conduct Highly to be commended in Chusing to avoid the Censure of their nation, and in not deceiving us their Friends by giving Lands, the property of which might afterwards be disputed and Create bad Blood, That he was not going to differ with his Friends about a Piece of Land, and desired they wou'd entertain no such thought, That he had other business of moment to Transact with them, and desired they wou'd meet him at the appointed time to which they agreed and met accordingly at the usual Place.

Octr. 30th October 30th Afternoon.

Present as in the morning.

The Superintendt. opened the Conference by repeating what had been said in the Forenoon, and acquainted them of his having received their Message by the Interpreter, approved of their Steady behaviour in not chusing to extend their Commission, or in not taking upon themselves to make a Cession without Authority, represented the Situation we were in for want of Planting Lands, and as he proposed applying to their nation by letter to by them, he expected they wou'd back his application to obtain the Cession so much wanted, and begged they wou'd Consider and represent to their nation the benefit that wou'd accrue to themselves from the Lands being in our Possession, That he shou'd expect an answer to the Talk which he Intended to send to their nation, by them on this subject, as soon as possible by the Interpreter, thank'd them for the offer of a Small addition on the Scambia & assured them That altho' he did not think proper to accept of it he did not Slight their Offer, for that the Governor and all their White Brethren Present, look'd upon it as a Stretch of their power, to show the Streightness of their Heart, That he was ready to attend to any

answer they should think proper to give or to any thing they might have to say. /

Emistisiguo Speaks

Father—

I am still the same man I was & not Like a Child varying my opinion every Instant, my Sentimts still remain the same they were, I formerly spoke about the boundary line at Tassa Old Field, not to go above Mr. Farmers Plantation. I now desire you will Consider the Lands in the Forks above the Confluence of Coosa and Tombeckby Rivers are our property. If the Chactaws have a mind to give Lands they may give it on the other side Tombeckby River. I hope you will never more allow any Settlements or Hunters to go above the Old Field at Tansa or Tassa we have no other method of Subsisting but by Hunting for which that land is well Calculated and at every meeting you have always Promised That no Encroachmts. Shou'd be made for the Future, I have always at my return home from such meetings repeated these Promises, but they have always been broken, and new Encroachmts. made, you have always told us, as well the Governors, That you wanted Lands for Planting not for Hunting, and that the Deer belonged to us, notwithstanding which, there are white people who tell us they intend Hunting on our Lands in Spite of us, You ordered that there should be no trading in the Woods, but I understand That it is in Agitation to Fix Stores in the Woods, so that I find you and I have talked to no purpose and that our agreemts. have all fallen to the ground. There is a Person Settled in the Chatohootchios named William Oats, at a place called Tuckpalka, I am Informed that the Cherokees have allowed a man to make a Settlement in the uppermost Forks of Coosa River & to drive Cattle there, every thing goes now Contrary to our agreements and I am sorry That Mr. Jackson and the Merchants at Augusta shou'd break the Rules that were made and agreed to in their presence. It was agreed at the Congress at Augusta that all persons found Trading in the Woods should be Considered as Infringers of Treaty, and treated as French or Spaniards; I caused some such to be plundered to show them their Error, from which I incurred much Reproach from white and red people. It was also agreed That no half Breeds or Indians shou'd be employed as Factors in the nation yet there are many such employed.—sometime after all these matters were Settled at Augusta I received a Letter said to be written by you, telling me I had

forgot the agreemts. John Francis was the Interpreter, and I answered That I thought you had rather forgot or mistaken the Talks. I believe the Letter was written by Mr. Galphin, however I then said I should speak to you concerning it the First time we shou'd meet. I therefore Embraced this opportunity of doing it and have mentiond. all these matters, to show you I perfectly remember what passed, altho' some white People who were present, when these Regulations were made say that they are all laid aside and of no Force, I hope no offence will be taken at my being Particular in mentioning those matters, as I meant to Show That I had not forgot the different agreemts. entered into. / —

Superintendt.

My Friend Emistisiguo

I have listened very attentively to what you have said, and shall now answer the difft. matters you have Stated in Order.— The Boundary Line agreed upon when Governr. Johnstone and I met you here before is very Clearly understood by me, It was to terminate at Coosa River, so as to Cover all the French Settlements at Tassa old Fields, beyond which you now desire we Should neither Settle nor permit people to Hunt, but I must here observe to you That the small tribes of the Namaaba & Tomé Indians who were settled on the *Western Bank* of the Great River formed by the Junction of the Coosa & Tombecky Rivers, have always Considered the Lands on the opposite Shore, as well on the Island above as their property and planted upon them & they have only removed since the War between you and the Chactaws broke out, they Likewise claimed a Certain extent in the Forks above the Confluence of said Rivers as their Hunting grounds. The reason is Clear their Villages was on the high barren Banks to the westward a healthy Situation but the Soil unfit for agriculture, & all the Rich Low Lands ly in the Islands, & on the Eastern side of the River. It is Likewise a Truth of which you may be Sensible, That the French Inhabitants near Mobile and upon the western Banks of Tombeckby River, had no other Planting Lands then what lay in the Islands, and on the Eastern side of the Tensa Branch Coosa River, now most of the old French Inhabitants still retain their property under the British Government and still Plant upon the Islands and River as Usual. Supposing the Property of all the Eastern side of said river to be really yours, will you refuse us the same advantage you allow'd to the French and said Small Tribes, you expecta-

tions of Friendship and assistance from us exceed any you cou'd have entertained of Reaping from the French, yet you mean to dispute this Trifle with us, I shall say no more upon this subject, but refer you for the Truth of all I have said to Tipoy who is well acquainted with it. / —

Now with respect to the Cession to his Majesty of Lands in the Forks above the Confluence of Coosa & Tombeckby Rivers it most Certain that a Cession was made by the Chactaws, as far as Chickiamoce in 1765 and it is True that you objected to it at Augusta in 1768 The War which had in the mean time broken out between you and the Chactaws prevented our coming to any Settlemt. about your pretentions, the property of said Lands we cannot determine that is a matter of discussion between yourselves, they are not granted away, we are in no hurry, they may remain as they are till Circumstances will admit of your Settling the dispute with the Chactaws. It is very True That by the Regulations, for carrying on the Trade made and Communicated to you at Augusta by me, provision was made for discouraging and preventing the distruction of your game by persons residing in Your Nation, but those regulations ceased to be of Force when the managmt. of the Trade reverted to the different Provinces, and altho' my Intentions were good yet they were frustrated, the King enjoyned the different Governments to give your grievances all Possible Redress and altho' Laws for that purpose have not as yet been Enacted, yet there is no doubt but proper attention will soon be paid to your Complaints In the mean time when you meet white Hunters in the Woods you have a Right to the Skins of your own Deer & the Guns with which they were killed, as to persons unlicenced carrying on an Illicit Trade in the Woods, Your People have it in their Power to discourage that Practice, by taking their Skins, for men breaking the Laws of their Country are not Entitled to their protection, Settling Stores in the Woods distant from any Town or Settlements is Contrary to the Kings Orders; and an Infringement upon your Right, which is in your own power to Prevent by obliging such offenders to remove, You therefore ought Immediately to order William Oats to remove, as well as the person you say the Cherokees have permitted to Settle & drive Stock to the upper Forks of Coosa River, which is in the middle of Your Hunting Grounds, with regard to the Letter said to have been written by me I assure you I know nothing of it, it is probable Mr. Galphin may have wrote it as your surmise, Upon the whole the whole my Brothers, these Regulations were made by me, when I was entrusted

with the management of the Trade but as soon as it was put in other hands, I cou'd no longer enforce the observation of them, and no Imputations of Promises broke will be against me on that account.

I am happy to hear these matters mentioned which gives me an opportunity of clearing them up, I hope to your Sattisfaction, I am at the same time much Pleased to hear how distinctly you remember the Substance of the Regulations, I must again desire if you know any Promise of mine unfulfilled in any respect that you will point it out. / —

Emistisiguo observed That it was late in the evening That he would defer saying any more till the morning following at Nine o'Clock. /

(Octr. 31st) October 31st Morning.

Present as the preceeding Days.

The Superintendt. Speaks.

My Friends

We are now met again to resume our Conferences of yesterday which were Interrupted by the Approach of Night, I shall Listen with attention to whatever you shall say, and desire you will not Smother any Complaint you may have reason to make this being the proper time to make them known. / —

Emistisiguo Speaks.

It is true the evening Interrupted our talks yesterday we are now met again all white * and I will proceed in my discourse, yesterday you asked for some land, on the Scambia which we could not gratify you in & assigned our reason for refusing, you also explained the Situation of the Townes & nanniaba's & the right the Claimed of Planting on the Islands opposite to their Villages & on the Eastern Banks of Coosa River, they are gone and you have now Succeeded to their right.** I have attentively Considered what you said and we Consent That the Boundary shall henceforth Run &ca. &ca. (Vide Treaty of Cession).

* N.B. Emistisiguo appeared at the Congress this day with his Face painted white.

** N.B. As the Lands on the Coosa River belong to the Alibama Tribe, all the Chiefs of which being Present they cou'd with propriety make this Cession.

You Complained much of the poorness of your Land near this Town; we have now given some very Fine Land, we hope you will Improve it, and that its produce will answer your wishes, we expect that those who shall settle on That Tract of Valuable Land will use us kindly when we shall happen to go and See them, it abounds with Fine Timber, we hope you will make the same use of it that the French did, and That you will not encroach upon us any more.

At Mr. Galphins House in 1765 you and I had some Conversation. I know not if I understand well what you meant you told me (at least I understood That you wanted a High Piece of Land, opposite to Mobille as you thought it a good Pleasant Situation for a House, and if you cou'd get it you wou'd Choose to have some Cattle Hogs and other Stock upon it, You asked me if we wou'd have any objections to your driving such Stock through our nation, you then said you sent this Message by me & when you shou'd receive our Answer, you wou'd sent a talk to the Chactaws about the Land; it was the talk that no Cattle should be driven through our Nation, you & Governor Johnstone agreed to it at this place; Yet soon afterwards Mr. Galphin drove a great many for the Mobilee Markett without our Consent upon my return home at that time I delivered your Message to the Nation who agreed That you Shou'd have any Piece of Land you shou'd pitch upon, and that they wou'd send People to drive your Cattle, but as I never heard more of you since I must Conclude the whole to be a mistake.

The Superintendt.

I am extremely obliged to your Nation for the readiness to grant me what they Imagined to be my Desire, what I said was I find badley Interpreted, I must therefore now explain a matter which was made a handle of altho' it had entirely Escaped my memory, when I was last here I expressed an Inclination of having a Spot on the East side of Mobille Bay which was granted me till after I left the Province, It was that Land I meant when I spoke to You, the Situation is pleasant and Healthy tho' the Soil be Barren, I told you that I either Intended to go there myself, or send my Deputy as a place Contiguous both to your Nation and the Chactaws. I never did ask you or any other Nation for Land beyond the boundary Line, I afterwards laid aside all thoughts of driving Cattle thither, because I thought it wou'd be Setting a Bad Example. I am obliged to you for

the pains you have taken in this matter and I look upon it as a Fresh Proof of your Friendship. / —

Emistisiguo proceeds.

Besides Mr. Galphin who was the First That drove Cattle, thro' our Nation, there are many others driving Cattle and Settling Cowpens on our Land without our Consent (Vizy.)

Robert Anderson has drove Cattle to the Kaialeagies.
William Cousins to the Abekoutchies.
Nicholas Black to the Oakchoys.
Thomas Graham to the Wakekoys.
Thomas Grierson to the Eufallies.
Richard Baillie to the Otassies.
Thomas Scott to the Hillabies.

and James M'Quin has in opposition to our talks not only brought up Cattle but also Negroes, and has made a Settlement near the great Tallassus, by which it appears That our talks have been thrown away, I want to know whether it shou'd be so or not, I am now far advanced in Life, & this is the First time I ever saw Plantations Settled in my nation, The Reason of my Complaining is this That formerly our Old Women and motherless Children used by exchanging a Little Corn for goods, to be able to Cover their nakedness but they are now deprived of this resource & often obliged on the Contrary to purchase Corn from the Traders. I remember it was formerly agreed That we shou'd take the skins, that we found in the Possession of White Hunters that We shou'd meet in the Woods, but notwithstanding that agreement, there are many white men in our nation who follow no other business but that of Hunting, such as Mcfall and Humphry Hubbard, John Snipes and Adam Tapley, who declare to our Faces they will Hunt in our Land, in Spite of all opposition or Regulations to the Contrary.

The Superintendt. Speaks.

Governor Johnstone and I at the last Congress held here, asked the Liberty of driving Cattle thro' your nation provided it should be found necessary for the good of the Colony, you objected to it and said it might be productive of many disagreeable Consequences, & might probably be the means of Involving your Nation in a dispute with the white People, that if such a permission was given it wou'd be a president for making Your

Nation a thoroughfare for all Sorts of People, it was at last agreed upon, That no person whatsoever should be allowed to drive Cattle thro' your Nation without a pass from the Governor of a Province or the Superintendt., no person ever applied to me for such a pass & I never gave any. The Traders who have driven Cattle and made Settlements in your nation are very Culpable, I shall represent the matter to the Governors of the Provinces from which they Trade, and I hope they will find means to Redress these Grievances, and as your Complaints will be laid before his Majesty I probably may have some orders relative to them. / —

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the Indians as follows.

Friends, Brothers, great Chiefs, and Warriors

I am sorry that this meeting has not been so favourable to Your white Brethren, as we had a right to expect you, You may think we are angry, but I do not blame you for refusing us the Lands that we asked for as you tell us you were not authorized to give them, on the Contrary, If this is the Case I think you have acted like wise and prudent men, in not granting what might give Umbrage to the rest of your Nation and Cause disquietude amongst Yourselves which might endanger the Friendship now Subsisting between us, The Small Tract which you have so kindly made us an offer of, convinces me of your gratitude and Friendship, I am obliged to you for your good Intentions, & I have Strong reason to hope that what the beloved man mentioned to you Yesterday about granting these Lands, will make such an Impression on you that when you return to your Nation, you will use your utmost Interest with your Brothers to induce them readily to Comply with with our Requests, and join with you in granting us the Small Contract That has been applied for, as you must be sensible that we have no Lands near us fit for Cultivation and that this Grant will be of as great advantage to yourselves as to your white Brothers, for without this Cession it will not be in our power to give you those assistances That you require, when you come to this Place, I shall not at present say any thing more to you upon the Subject, this was not the only Business that we sent for you upon; you may remember that last Summer I sent a talk into your Nation acquainting you of Several Settlements made by your White Brothers on the Alabama River having been broke up by your people, for having settled beyond the Line, and desiring you to send

some proper Persons down to assist us in marking it out, and as you are now here, I hope that affair will be accomplished, it has been generally understood That the Boundary Line Included all the old French Settlements at Tassa, which I hope you Confirm to us, with regard to what you mentioned yesterday concerning white men who have settled or hunted on your Lands, Traded in your Woods and who have Committed other abuses, I must tell you whenever these come to my knowledge I will exert myself to have your Complaints redressed & If such offences are Committed within the Limits of this Province I will punish the offenders agreeable to the Laws; I must now mention to you the many Injuries that have been committed by the lower Creeks, upon the Plantations of the white Inhabitants in the Western part of the Province, which oblidge me to take Notice of them; Several Parties frequently go out under a pretence of going to War, which is far from their thoughts, for without going to seek for their Enemy, they go to our Plantations destroy our Cattle and Plunder the poor Inhabitants of their all, and then return home with their Booty, these are grievances that must be put a stop to, we are the people of one great and beloved King, Therefore let us live like Brothers & not as Enimies, for what is a man that Robs me of my property but my enemy.

It behooves you leading men of the Creek Nation to exert your power and authority, so as to prevent any of the Like Trans-actions for the future, and I think in Justice you ought to oblidge those who have thus transgressed to make restitution, to the Poor the poor people whom they have plundered, & in a manner ruined; I do not blame any of our Red Brethren here Present for those offences but I must desire you will send Talks to the lower Creeks to prevent them from Such Practices for the future. There is another thing I must observe to you which is as you are now at War, Your young people frequently come into our Towns, with Arms, in Search of their Enemy, which is not agreeable to the White People, neither is it usual in any of the other Provinces; the frequent Complaints of the misbehaviour of the Red men, who often get drunk with Rum which they get for their Skins, & then are Riotous, make it necessary That I should acquaint you with it, in hopes that you will give such advice to your young men, as to make them avoid giving any offence for the future, I hope what I have now said will make that Impression on you, & that you will use your Influence with your young men that their future Conduct will be such as to make us esteem them as welcome Friends, and not look on them as plunderers of our property.

I have not forgot to thank you for the distinguishing mark of your Friendship which you was pleased to Confer upon me at our First meeting, appointing me to a High Rank in Your Nation, I shall always Consider you as Friends and Brothers & shall retain a gratefull remembrance of the Honor you have conferred upon me.

The Indians thanked his Excellency for his Talk and Friendly advice and assured him they wou'd pay the greatest attention to what he had recommended.

Emistisiguo Speaks

I must not Omitt to acquaint you That one John Millers a Trader, lately brought a Talk into our nation said to have been sent by Governor Wright of Georgia which he said contained a Threat to Stop our Trade, if we did not acquiesce in the Cession of Land by the Chereokees to their Traders.

The Superintendant replied That the assertion of Millers was a falsehood, for that he had Governor Wrights Talk in his Possession, which contained no such Threat or even desired their Consent to the Cession, and that he wou'd not Fail to represent Millers behaviour to the Governor of Georgia, and proceeded

Friends and Brothers

I have now hear'd all your Complaints with great attention, and must observe to you That on our parts we have Likewise great reason to Complain you must be Sensible of many Capital Infringements of Treaty which as yet you have never given any Sattisfaction for. It wou'd be needless here to repeat what happened to a Slave you carried off from Mobille, it is very Recent and you must Remember what the Governor wrote you on that Subject, Many Inhabitants of this Province have Indian Slaves brought from a great distance on the other side of the Mississippi, These cannot be Enemy's of yours nor can Honor Redound to you as warriors, from killing poor defenceless Slaves, yet Your Parties frequently Insult the Plantations in search of such people an Instance of which happened very lately at Mr. Weggs Plantation on Mobille Bay where they pursued and Fired several Shotts at a very Valuable Slave of his, had they Killed him, they wou'd have derived no Honor from it, and it wou'd have been doing great Injustice to his Master. If you will Con-

sider how Contrary such proceedings are to your professions of Friendship for us, and with how Little reason you can expect redress of the grievances you complain of on our part, without you also exert yourselves to prevent Such Insults, I am convinced That upon your arrival in your Nation you will Immediately give the necessary Orders for that purpose. / —

You Complain of a Number of Lawless white People residing in your nation who Contrary to all order and regulations Hunt on your Land and put you to open difiance. I am obliged to you for your Tenderness, shewn to your white Brethren in not Hurting the Persons of such offenders, but as they are often bad People who having Fled from Justice take refuge in your Nation, in Case the Governor of any of the Provinces shou'd send to apprehend them, I expect That you will not oppose, but on the Contrary be aiding and assisting in apprehending them. / —

I thank you for the addition you thought proper to make to the former Cession on Coosa River, & as I am come here with a View finally to accomplish the Important Service of marking the Boundary Line, I hope you will appoint a sufficient Number of your People to attend the Persons to be sent from this Province to Execute it. / —

We met in Friendship we will part in the Same disposition, we will therefore Smoak the Pipe of Friendship, & if anything black remains, let it Fly away with the Smoak. /

Emistisiguo speaks.

I am sorry I can't comply with your request and mark the boundary line at this time, as it is our Hunting Season and there is no grass in the Woods for our Horses, but I am the man who will come and accomplish this in the Month of May next, I have now talked a great while and will give up my place to any of my people who may have anything to say. /

The Superintendant acquainted them that he had a token of the Kings bounty to bestow and wou'd order the Presents to be got ready as soon as Possible. / —

Here the Conferrence ended.

Copy of the Affidavit of Joseph Cornal and John Simson Interpreters for the Creek Language. West Florida ss.

Personally appeared before me E. Rush Wegg Esqr. Attorney General of the Province aforesaid, Joseph Cornal Interpreter for the Creek Language in the Indian Departmt. and John Simpson Interpreter for said Language for this Province, who being duly sworn make Oath that they were Present at the different Conferrences between the Superintendant and the Indian Chiefs of the upper Creek Nation during a Congress beginning the 29th day of October and ending the Third November, Current at which the said Joseph Cornal did truly and faithfully Interpret the Speeches made by the Governor and Superintendant to the said Indian Chiefs as well as the Answers of the said Indian Chiefs, to the said Speeches truly to the best of their Knowledge and Judgment & the said Joseph Cornal and John Simpson, were present when the Treaty of Cession was Signed and Executed by the said Superintendant and Indian Chiefs, when Joseph Cornal did also explain to the Indians the Course of the Line agreed upon and Specified in said Treaty and to which they the Chiefs assented and agreed; and further That the Superintendant did then by the Interpretation of the said Joseph Cornal, ask the said Indian Chiefs whether they or any of them remembered any promise, said to have been made by Governor Johnstone and the Superintendant, or either of them at the meeting with their Chiefs and Warriors at Pensacola in the year of our Lord 1765, of a Congress to be held at the expiration of Three years from that time, or whether they or any of them expected such a Congress, or Complained to any person of a Breach of Promise on the part of Government or Superintendant for want of such a Congress, to all which the Indian Chief Emistisiguo on behalf of the whole answered, in the Negative; and declared their Total Ignorance of any Such Promise by the said Governor and Superintendant, or of any such Complaint having been made by him or any of his Nation; all which the said Joseph Cornal Interpreted, Truly and faithfully to the best of his Knowledge.

The Mark of
Joseph x Cornal.
John Simpson

Sworn at Pensacola.
this 4th November 1771.
(Signed) E. R. Wegg. Atty. Genl.

Copy of a Letter from John Stuart Esqr. Superintendt. of Indian Affairs to his Excellency Peter Chester Esqr. Governor of West Florida dated Pensacola 2d Novr. 1771.

Sir

I herewith send for your Excellencys perusal a Treaty of Ratification & Cession of Land at different times within this Province, that your Excellency with the advice of his Majestys Council, May if agreeable Signify your Concurrence & approbation thereof. I have the Honor of being Sir

Your Excellency's most Obedient
& most hble Servt.
(Signed) John Stuart.

His Excellency
Peter Chester Esqr.

His Excellency's Answer

Sir

I Immediately upon receipt of your Letter dated this Day, inclosing the Articles of Treaty, & Session of Land proposed to be made to his Majesty by the Creek Indians, I laid it before the Members of his Majestys Council, and I am to acquaint you that they have advised me to Concur in the Cession of Lands mentioned in the Articles of the said Treaty, and I do hereby Signify to you my Approbation of the Same.

I have the Honor to be with great regard

Sir Your most obedient humble Servant
(Signed) Peter Chester

John Stuart Esqr.

West Florida ss.

At a Congress of the Principal Chiefs and Warriors, of the upper Creek Nation of Indians, held at Pensacola in the Province of West Florida on the Twenty ninth Day of October & continuing to the Seccond day of November 1771 by John Stuart Esqr his Majesty's Sole Agent for and Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern district of North America.

A Treaty for the Ratification & Confirmation of a former Cession & for a further Cession of Land within the Limits of said Province, to his Most Sacred Majesty George the Third by the

Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland King Defender of the Faith, and Soforth, by the Several Chiefs herein named, and who are authorized by the said Nation. / —

Whereas at a Congress of the said Creek Indians held by the said John Stuart Esquire in Conjunction with his Excellency George Johnstone Esqr. Governor of West Florida at Pensacola in the said Province on the Twenty Eighth day of May in the year of our Lord 1765 It was agreed upon between the Governor and Superintendant and the Several Ruling Chiefs and Warriors Deputies from the said Creek Nation there present; That the Lands reserved by the said Creek Indians for their own use Shou'd be distinguished by the following boundaries, Vizy. by a Line running from the River Chactaw falling into Santo Rosa Bay Westward to the Bay of Pensacola, and round the said Bay to the River Scambia opposite to the mouth of a Creek known by the name of Boundary Creek, said Line from the River Chactaw to the Scambia to run aCross all the Rivers Creeks & Bays as far up as the flowing of the Tide & from the Confluence of Boundary Creek with the River Scambia, up by the Course or Channel thereof, to the Place where it is Crossed by the old path or Road leading from Pensacola to Mobille, and afterwards to run along said Road across the River called by the Indians Cassapa and by the Spaniards Perdido to another Branch or Black Creek called by the French Roche Blave then up the main Stream or Channel of said Creek or Branch to its Source, and thence to the Branch of Coosa River, called Tassa or Tensa River, so as to cover all the French Settlements at Tassa old Fields.

Article 1st.

Pursuant therefore to His Majesty's Orders to & power and authority vested in the said John Stuart Esquire his Sole Agent for and Superintendant of Indian Affairs in the Southern District of North America It is agreed upon by the said John Stuart, on behalf of his Most Sacred Majesty George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and Soforth; and the Subscribing upper Creek Chiefs and Warriors on behalf of their Nation, that in Consideration of his Majesty's protection Extended to the said Indians of the Creek Nation & for a Valuable Consideration in Goods now given them, the above recited Boundary Lines be Ratifyed and Confirmed, and they are accordingly by these Presents Ratifyed and Confirmed, & they the said Chiefs and

Warriors do of their own Free will and accord and for the abovementioned Considerations further Cede and Grant unto his Majesty and his Heirs for ever all the Lands Lying between Coosa River and a Line to run from Bryar Creek above Major Farmars Plantation at Tassa Miles distant from and paralell to, the Tassa Branch of Coosa River to the great River formed by the Confluence of Coosa & Tombeckby Rivers and then to extend along the High Land by the Edge of the Swamp on the Eastern side to Coosa River above its Confluence with Tombeckby River and afterwards the Line is to Run by the Eastern Bank of Coosa River, to the mouth of the Branch called by the Chactaws Byuck Connonga and by the Creeks Hetisia; and the said Contracting Chiefs, do Cede to his Majesty on behalf of themselves and their Nation all Claims, Pretentions or Rights to the Lands Creeks and Rivers lying to the Westward of said Line, and they further engage to send proper authorized persons, on behalf of their Nation to see the above specified Boundary Line surveyed and marked as soon as Possible, and this further Cession of Land agreed upon, and Stipulated, provided his Majesty Shall be graciously pleased, to accept of and Confirm the same & not otherwise. / —

Article 2d.

And it is further Stipulated and agreed upon by the Contracting parties that no alteration whatsoever shall henceforward be made in the Boundary Line above recited and now Solemnly agreed upon Ratifyed and Confirmed as aforesaid, except such as may hereafter be found necessary and expedient for the mutual Interests of both parties, and which alteration shall be made with the full Consent of the Superintendent or such other person or persons as shall be authorized by his Majesty as well as with the Consent and approbation of the Creek Nation of Indians at a Congress or general meeting of said Indians to be held for said purpose & not in any other manner. / —

In Testimony whereof the said Superintendant on behalf of his Majesty and the underwritten Creek Chiefs on behalf of their Nation have signed and sealed this present Treaty at the time and Place aforesaid. / —

(Signed) John Stuart [L.S.]
Superintendt. So. Distrct.

Emistisiguo x mark. [L.S.]	Yahala mico x mark. [L.S.]
Neothlockto x mark. [L.S.]	Wectomke Mico x mark. [L.S.]
Othlopoye Hajo x mark. [L.S.]	Askeahoula x mark. [L.S.]

Opaye Atke x mark. [L.S.] Opay Hajo x mark [L.S.]
Neometeo x mark. [L.S.] Testonnake x mark. [L.S.]
Estonake Opaye x mark [L.S.] Tacussa Mico x mark [L.S.]
Siahoula x mark [L.S.]

By Order of the Superintendt.
(Signed) William Ogilvy Secy.

The following Gentlemen were Present, when the within Treaty was Signed by the Superintendant and Indian Chiefs and heard the Questions and answers referred to in the preceding Affidavit

Major Dickson of the 16th Regt.
Jacob Blackwell Esqr.
E. Rush Wegg Esqr Atty. Genl.
Major Hutcheson of the Royal Americans.
Charles Stuart Esqr deputy Superintendant.
Lieut. Carrique of 16 Regt.
Mr. Urquhart.
Mr. Falconer.

Pensacola 22d. February 1772—

I do hereby Certify that the foregoing Minutes of a Congress is a true Copy of the Record thereof Remaining in the Secretary and Register's Office of the Province of West Florida in L1B: Congresses No. 1. page 1&a, Examined by me,

Ph. Livingston Junr. D. Secy.

Endorsed. Minutes of the Congresses held at / Pensacola in October & November / 1771, with the Chiefs of the Upper / Creek Nation. / In Govr. Chester's (No. 42.) of 22d. / Feby. 1772.

Papers Relating to Congress with Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians

West Florida, ss.

I Peter Chester, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over this His Majesty's Province of West Florida, and other the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor, and Vice Admiral of the same &c. Do hereby Certify, and make known To all to whom these Presents shall come or may concern, That Philip Livingston Junior Esquire, who hath certified the Minutes of a Congress hereunto annexed, is Deputy

Secretary, and Register of this His Majestys said Province, duly Admitted and Sworn, and that to all Acts, and Instruments, by him Signed, and Certified, full and Entire faith is, and ought to be given.—

In Testimony and Confirmation whereof I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of this Province to be hereunto Affixed at Pensacola the Eleventh day of April, in the Twelfth year of His Majesty's Reign, and in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Seventy two—

By His Excellency's Command.— Per. Chester.
Ph. Livingston Junr. D.Secy.
[Note in Margin] Seal Taken off by Wm. P.

Southern District.

At a Congress of the Principal Chiefs and warriors of the Chickesaw and Chactaw Nations held at Mobille in the Province of West Florida by John Stuart Esquire his Majestys Sole Agent for and Superintendant of Indian affairs in the Southern District of North America.

Tuesday 31st December 1771.

Present.

His Excellency Governor Chester.
Brigadier General Haldimand.
Lieutenant Governor Durnford.
Charles Stuart Esquire Deputy Superintendant.
Major Dickson and Several Officers of his Majestys Sixteenth Regiment.
Edmund Rush Wegg Esquire Attorney General
Major Hutcheson.
John McIntosh Commissary of Indian Affairs for the Chickesaw and Chactaw Nations.
Robert Farmar.
William Struthers
Alexander McIntosh } Esquires
Daniel Ward.

with the other Principal Inhabitants of Mobille and a Number of Indian Traders.

All the Great and Small Medal Chiefs Principal men and Warriors of the Six Villages each party and District of Coosa in the

Chactaw nation and Paya Mattaha great Leader and Principal Chief of the Chicksaw nation.

John Favre
Orbanne Demouy } Sworn Interpreters.
Lewis Forneret.

The Superintendant having recommended to the Traders to listen attentively as they understood the Indian Language opened the Congress as follows. Paya Mattaha and the other Leaders of our ancient and faithfull Friends the Brave Chickesaw Nation and you the great Chiefs and Leaders of the Numerous and Brave Nation of Chactaws I am greatly rejoyced to meet you all and to Smoke the Pipe of Friendship with you as faithfull Friends and Brothers.

The Pipe Lighted by the Superintendant was then handed to Governor Chester Brigadier Haldimand &c. and afterwards to all the Indian Chiefs who Smoaked out of it.

After which Ceremony the Superintendant proceeded with his Speech as follows

Great Chiefs and Warriors and beloved men of both Nations

We have now Smoaked the Pipe of Friendship. We are met to Confer and Consult together upon Business of the greatest Importance to you and to us; the object of our meeting is to Strengthen Friendship, and remove from the Road every Stumbling Block, That the Intercourse between us may be safe and tending to our mutual advantage: We are now to search attentively for those Weeds and Thorns which have grown in the Path since our last meeting, and after we shall have found them, it will be your Duty great Chiefs as Governors of your People to join your Strength to ours that We may pluck them up, You see at this meeting The Governor in Chief of this Province and also the great Leader and Commander of all the Kings Warriors in the Southern part of America, I recommend to you to Listen attentively to whatever Discourse they may think proper to Deliver, and after they shall have Finished, I will again Speak to you and explain minutely the Business upon which I have called this meeting.

His Excellency the Governor then addressed The Indians as follows.

Friends Brothers Great Chiefs and Warriors

The great giver of Breath has permitted us this day to Smoke the Friendly Pipe of Friendship together, and to take each other by the hand, and I have the greatest Sattisfaction in meeting so respectable a Number of Two such Warlike Nations, as my Brothers the Chickesaws and Chactaws who are now here assembled.

Piamattaha, Great Leader, Chiefs, and Brothers of the Chickesaw Nation.

You are our Old and Faithfull Friends and allies, our Friendship has Subsisted a long time and is now grown as Strong as Iron, and I Trust will ever Continue so, your Conduct has always been such as to merit our love and Esteem, and Claims this open and Publick acknowledgement, for your Good Behaviour.

Friends Brothers Great Chiefs and Warriors of Both Nations.

This Publick Meeting is by order of the Great King, over the Great Water, the Father of you Red men, as well as of us white men, and I am Commanded by him to hold you fast by the Hand and to assure you of his Protection and Love for you.

I hope we all meet with white Hearts and on the same laudable Intentions, to Renew and Confirm old Treaties, and *that* Harmony, and Friendship, which so long Subsisted between us.

The Paths into your Nations are open and Straight, let our Talks be also Straight, Let the Chain of Friendship which we are now met to Brighten, be so Strongly united, as not to leave it in the power of Wicked and designing men, to weaken the Least link of it.

Mr. Stuart This is the time in presence of the Beloved *Man* now here, to Speak your minds and to repeat all your Grievances, and if you have now any Complaints to make against the Traders, or any of their Hirelings or other White men in your Nations, there are many of them now present and Face to Face before you, and I shall attend patiently and hear what you say, for I have the great Kings Orders, to enquire into all the Causes of your Discontent, and you may be assured That I will do you all the Justice, That lays in my power, let not love or affection, fear or Threats, prevent your telling the Impartial Truth, be Candid and Ingenuous, which is what we expect from wise and great men.

If the Traders, or their Hirelings, have Infringed upon the

Laws made for their Guidance or have Broke any of the Treaties entered into between your white Brethren and yourselves, and these Crimes have been Committed within the Limits of this Province, which I have the Honor to preside over, they shall be punished with utmost Rigour of the Law, and I Trust That such Punishments will effectually Deter them and others, from Committing the like Illegal Practices in future.

Brothers Chiefs and Great Leaders of the Chactaw Nation—

I have already Promised to hear your Grievances and Complaints attentively, and I hope you will now Listen with the same attention to the Complaints That we have to make, against the Red men of your Nation, You must be sensible That you have been guilty of many Infractions of the Treaties subsisting between us, We have not forgot your plundering of our Traders at the Natchez, nor the Robberies and Thefts you have Committed against the white men upon the River Mobille, and the Plantations you stripped, and obliged the poor Inhabitants to Desert, in the Western parts of this Province—

These are offences which are almost unpardonable in you, and Shew the great Want of Gratitude, which you owe your white Brethren for taking you under their protection, and furnishing you with every necessary of Life, That you are in want of.

Mr. Stuart the Superintendant knows the men of each Town, better than I do, who have dared to Commit these Crimes, and I shall refer you to his Talk who is acquainted with the particular Circumstances of these matters, and I beg you will not only hear, what he says, but take Effective measures to Punish such Defaulters, and regulate your Future Conduct by what he recommends.—

I have already said That we met you at this time in Consequence of Orders from the Great King, but when we shall have such another meeting is more than I can Inform you, The Orders must come from the King himself, and the time will depend upon your own Good behaviour. As we are the people of one Great King, let us therefore live together like Brothers, but not as Enemies, you are wise and Brave, which makes me flatter myself That your future Conduct, will such as to merit the Esteem and Effection of our Royal Master.

The General acquainted the Indians That he was happy in having an opportunity of Smoaking and Shaking hands with so many Great Chiefs and Leaders, and desired them to pay the greatest attention to what the Governor and Superintendant should say to them.

The Superintendant Continues his Speech as follows.

Redmen—Friends and Brothers of Both Nations Chickesaws and Chactaws.

I am returned after an Interval of Seven years to Call you to this Congress and renew the engagements which were entered into at our last meeting; as these engagements were the result of Mature Deliberation and were Calculated to maintain Peace and Friendship between you and your White Brethren, altho' I cannot Suppose that you have forgotten them, yet I will repeat them and point out what appear to be Infractions of them on your part I shall be plain in Telling you where you have been wrong, and in your answer I expect That you also will be plain and unreserved in declaring your grievances if you have any—If any of the Traders have Imposed upon, or used you Ill, point them out and explain your Complaint. the Traders are here present We must also Listen to their Complaints and We Expect from you Chiefs and Leaders That you will use your Authority and Influence in Redressing their Grievances and obtaining Justice for them.

Here the Treaty was explained and assented to by all the Chiefs. The Superintendant proceeds addressing the Chactaws.

When the French gave up this Country to the great King you the Chactaws were received under his Royal protection upon your Engageing to observe the Articles of this Treaty, and in Consequence English Traders resorted to your Nation, and Carried Such a Supply of Goods amongst you, as you had been accustomed to under the French Government, and if you have not been happy and easy it has been your own fault, for had you been Industrious Good Hunters you could not have been so poor and destitute of all necessaries as I see you are, but instead of being Imployed in getting Skins, your Peoples time was taken up in Insulting and plundering our out Inhabitants and wantonly killing their Cattle, while the very Traders Imployed in Carrying Goods to relieve your Necessities have been Robbed and Plundered not only upon the High Way but also in your very Towns, you Complained That you were neglected and not called to Congresses as when the French were Masters of this Country. The French Employed you as Soldiers, and as Such paid you annually with presents. We never have had occasion for your assisstance in that Way, should we ever call upon you to take part in any Quarrel of ours, We are full as able and you will find us full as Generous and willing to reward your Services as the French were, but Instead of annual Presents

we have given you a Plentifull Trade, and If you are not Industrious to reap the benefit of it in its full extent you must blame yourselves, If you have not sooner been called together to receive some testimony of his Majestys Generocity and Bounty it is because your actions were such as rendered you unworthy, you can Claim no Promise for none was ever made, nor fixed time was mentioned or agreed upon by me, for calling you together, so that nothing was due to you, in Consequence of any such promise of agreement at this time; but if you are now called together and to receive his Majestys Royal Bounty, it is to try once more, what Effect his unmerited Generocity and some good advice may have upon you, If you persist in your Violences and Robberies you will Certainly Incur the Kings Displeasure and can never expect to receive further marks of his favour.

I cannot upon this occasion forbear mentioning particularly some of the same Flagrant Insults which your people have been Guilty of.

Ullissa Mingo Great Medal Chief your Townsmen were the people who behaved so ill at Natchez in plundering the Store of Mr. Bradley and Insulting the other Inhabitants at that place—a Warrior of yours here present whose name is Acela Ouma was the Chief and Leader of the party concerned in that Riot.

It was you of the Villiage of Chickasawhay who came down and were Riotous and Insolent at the House of Mr. Campbell.

You Accetta Mingo of Conchabouloukta was the person principally concerned in Robbing Mr. Durette and leaving his Family and Children Destitute of every necessary, can you now be expected to be received as a Friend after such behaviour after doing what any White man would have been hang'd for and if Mr. Durette with the Assisstance of his neighbours or Negroes had killed you or any of your Party, your Nation Could not have Thought much of it or demanded Sattisfaction. In every Country by every Nation a mans property is Deemed Sacred and Killing a Robber Injustly Invading it, is allowed of as an Act of Just defence, and you should Consider That such Violences are every where Considered as Marks of War.

You will have an opportunity tomorrow of Saying what you can in your own Vindication

Great and Small Medal and Gorget Chiefs

The way to preserve and secure to your Nation the Benefits you reap from the Great Kings Protection and the Friendship

of your white Brethren is to have a Strict regard to Justice and protect your Traders, who carry amongst you such necessaries as the want of would Render you Wretched, but you cannot think That they will be so mad as to Continue to Supply you, without their Persons and property are protected, I am sorry to Dwell any longer on so disagreeable a Subject, but I must observe That the bad behaviour of your young men disgraces you their Chiefs. Why are you Honoured with Medals? why are you dressed Like great men? why are you distinguished above your Countrymen and Sett at Table with Governors and great officers? but because you are Looked upon as Capable of advising your People of restraining and even punishing their Licentuousness, and all your Warriors who receive Presents, it is your Interest to put a Stop to such proceedings for if they are continued you must not expect That ever I call you together again to receive more presents.

Chiefs of the Chickesaw Nation.

This Discourse was not Directed to you you have always been our Faithfull Friends and allies, and you need not Doubt of our having a Just Sence of your merit, you complained for want of a Commissary to reside among you. The King has been graciously pleased to Listen to your Representation and has Ordered me to Send one, I have appointed Mr. John McIntosh who was formerly your Commissary, and who as you asked for him cannot Fail of being agreeable to you.

My Brother Paya Mattaha

I have been told That you accuse me of having broken my promise to you in not having called you to a Congress at the Expiration of Three years from the last, I now desire you will Declare if any such promise was made to you at the last Congress and by whom, I desire you will be plain in declaring the Truth upon this Subject without apprehensions of Incurring any persons ill will you are a man and a Warrior and I know you scorn to tell what is not Truth.

Here Paya Mattaha seemed much surprised he declared his Ignorance of any Promise, denied his ever having accused the Superintendant of a Breach of Promise upon That account and asked whether it was a White man or a Red man That had given him such wrong Information.

The Superintendt. Proceeds.

My Brothers Chickesaws

I must not omit acquainting you That I have had Complaints of some Riotous People among you having broke open the Houses of Traders and Insulted them you can probably Tell me the Causes of such Disorders That we may endeavour to put a Stop to them.

Friends and Brothers of Both Nations.

I have now finished and shall expect to receive your answers and hear all your Complaints tomorrow.

The Superintendant adjourned the Congress to next day having First desired the Traders to give him in whatever Complaints they had to make of the Indians in writing.

Wednesday 1st January 1772
Present as the preceeding Day.

The Superintendant having acquainted the Indian Chiefs That he was prepared to hear their Answers to the talks of the preceeding Day and the Chickesaws having produced Fire by Friction of a Wooden Apperatus for said purpose Paya Mattaha their great Leader lighted his Pipe with it, and holding an Eagles Tail or Calumet in his hand addressed the Superintendant and said This Calumet was given me by the Querpha Chief (who accompanied me to Pensacola) in Token of Friendship, I now hold it and this Pipe and Tobacco kindled with pure Virgin Fire of which I desire you will Smoke and I desire that the Calumet may remain in your Possession as a memorial of the Faith mutually Pledged by my nation and the Querphas also called Arcanzas, after Smoaking round Delivers the Calumet to the Superintendant and proceeds.

My Brother Nanhoulou y Mattaha (Superintendant.) Nanhoulou Mingo (Governor or Great Chief of the white men) Opaye O Mattaha (Great Leader or General)

I am a Redman of a Nation once great but now much diminished by Death, I am going to Speak of Red men, and if my Talk is not attended to but Falls to the ground I cannot help it.

You see me here, I am not a Boy I have the use of my reason and Senses, and Remember That I have often made Promises of attachment and Fedility to the Great King, I now again Repeat and Confirm them I scorn Duplicity and do not Speak with Two Tongues, I am not a man of many words, but what Little I have to say I will speak openly altho' a Red man like me ought to

Speak with Caution before so many great Chiefs assembled together. I will tell you what Tradition has handed down to us of our Forefathers and their way of living, they were Ignorant destitute of knowledge and understanding to Provide necessaries for the Comfort of Life before white men came among them and taught them.

When the news reached me that the Superintendant had Landed in this Country I was at a great distance from hence, but the length of the Journey did not detain me from setting out to meet him, I have taken him by the hand I see him and will talk of matters which greatly concern my people.

This is not the First time of my meeting you my Brother the Superintendant we have often Conferred together before now, I did not throw away your talks but retained them in my Breast, and altho' I am an Ignorant Red man, and cannot read and write, I hope to Convince you that I have a good memory and have not forgotten your talks and altho' this is the Third time of our meeting together I have still something to say to you.

When you (the Superintendant) and I met here last we took firm hold of each others hands and called one another Brother, you desired me to be attentive to your talks to carry them to my Nation and Publish them to my people desiring them to Listen to them as if Delivered by you in person. I was attentive to your talks I carried them to my Nation and delivered them to my People as You Desired.

Redmen should be attentive to the Orders of Great Chiefs I have been and will be attentive to your talks I will keep them in my mind and carry them to my people as you direct. At last Congress John McGuillivray was present I have not seen him at this meeting and know not what has become of him, he then shewed me the measures by which Goods were to be sold in my nation and explained the Tariff or Rate for paying for such Goods, with which my heart was Sattisfied and I Rejoyced because I knew my people would be Sattisfied also.

A Tariff was then agreed upon and Settled between the white and Red men and the Superintendant gave me a Yard to carry with me as a Standard by which the measure of all Goods sold in our Nation was to be regulated, altho' my memory is pretty Good yet some things may Escape it I will however preceed to tell you what I Remember.

You, (the Superintendant) then Promised That a Commissary should be sent to reside in our Nation to see Justice done us upon every Occassion and Mr. McIntosh was accordingly sent and I was Sattisfied with the Standard weights and measures

which were sent up, in hopes that the Traders would regulate themselves by them, had that been the Case we Could have had no ground of Complaint, but soon afterwards my Warriors Complained of being Cheated in having Short measure, afterwards Shorter and a Third and fourth time Shorter and Shorter still. I advised my people to be easy (for our Commissary was then taken away) and take the Goods as they would give them untill we Should have an opportunity of Complaining and making our Case known.

Here Paya Mattaha appealed to his people for the Truth of what he had said.

Brother

When you appointed Mr. McIntosh to reside among us as Commissary you desired That I and my people would support him as he was sent to distribute Justice to White and Red people which I did.

Most of the persons who Trade to my Nation are present none are absent but Mr. Buchles and Mr. Bubbie I speak before them, they all know and Mr. Alexander McIntosh who has been in my Nation knows, That the measures are too Short. I hope we shall have Justice done in this particular.

There are many disordely persons who are no Licenced Traders That Stay in our Nation, they Create Disturbances we wish to have them removed and That some regulation with respect to them may take place.

You told me at the last Congress That Two Great Skins should purchase a Blanket but we do not find that to be the Case, we find the weights are grown heavier.

I have been Informed by my Warriors That Tricks have been played by some Traders, who in order to make their pounds heavier added melted Lead to them, altho' I have not seen this with my own Eyes I cannot Doubt its having been done.

Altho' you have and may still make good regulations yet there are so many white men who are likely to oppose them, and who will probably Influence Red men to Join in their opposition that I am afraid they will not prove Effectual, were I to enumerate all our Grievances I should never Finish and without so many disorderly Vagabonds can be prevented from Insulting our Towns. I cannot hope for Redress, they steal our Horses and commit Innumerable Violences and what is worse they have Corrupted the manners of my People and rendered them as bad as themselves so That I cannot govern them; I shall say no more upon this Disagreeable Subject.

At last Congress you promised to send into our nation a Doctor

of Guns (an Armourer) not to make new guns but to mend such as may be out of order that they may not be lost. It is True you Complied with your promise and sent one, but when the Commissary was removed, he went away also, I desire to know if you Intend to Send such a person amongst us my people have pressed me much to ask for one.

My Brother

When I went to Pensacola last Summer in hopes of meeting you, I had Several Conversations with the Governor about Saddles Shirts &c I hope the Governor will remember those talks.

After my Return to my own nation I was upbraided with having given Secret or Stol'n Talks and having said things which I do not remember to have said.

As Mr. Favre was formerly my Interpreter and is my Son in Law I desire he may Interpret Truly and faithfully for I shall say nothing but the Truth.

Paya Mattaha being asked at the Governors desire, whether or not he recollected what he had said to the Governor when he was at Pensacola one of his Warriors called Captain John observing Paya Mattaha to hesitate stood up and said I was present and remember what was said, any Child might remember it. It happened but a few days ago, when we were leaving our Nation last Summer upon our Journey to Mobille and Pensacola James Colburt a Trader asked us where we were going and said he had heard we were going to ask for better Traders.

Here Colburt accused Favre of not understanding the Language or having Interpreted badley and some Confusion ensued which disconcerted Paya Mattaha, who seem'd to decline repeating Publickly what he had told the Governor at Pensacola and it was Judged Prudent not to press him upon the Subject.

Paya Mattaha proceeded.

I have spoken a great deal and have Finished I take my leave of my Brother the Governor and the General who is an old Warrior with Grey Hairs Like my self and I respect him for he always tells Truth.

Then addressing himself to his own people and holding a Bow and Quiver of Arrows he said

Red men

Behold the Arms of your Ancestors on such they depended for Food for Raiment and for defence they were naked and help-

less, bold and Trembling, how Could they take a good Aim? with difficulty they found a poor Subsistance and Supported Life. Think of your Former Situation and be gratefull for the benefits you have received from your white Brethren, who have armed you with Guns Cloathed you and Supplied all your wants.

To the Superintendant
Brother

I present this Bow and Quiver of Arrows and desire they may be sent to the great King as a Testimony of my Gratitude for his Goodness and Protection and for the Benefit I and my people have received and daily receive from our White Brethren.

Mingo Ouma Red King of the Chickesaws speaks

I choose James Colburt for my Interpreter Mr Favre called me Mingo Oumastabe which is not my name, I therefore desire Mr. Colburt may be permitted to Interpret for me which was agreed upon. White and Red men Listen to my Talk.—I am rejoyced to meet my white Brethren the Governor General and Superintendant who have come a great way to this Congress.

Our Nation is far distant, from hence yet when we heard of the Superintendant's Arrival we left it and came here to meet him, and now we are rejoyced to see him

I am the King of my Nation and Paya Mattaha is my Warrior. I am the last of a Long Race of Kings and am now come to meet you great Chiefs of the white men I never Saw my Ancestors but Tradition has acquainted me that they held the English, fast by the hand, I have endeavoured and Shall Continue to Tread in their Footsteps, this is the First time of my being present at a meeting of white Chiefs I rejoyce at Seeing them and having an opportunity of renewing antient Friendship I have no more to Say.

Fannimingo Chickasaw Chief

Holding the Wooden Apparatus for making Fire and small Earthen pot in his hand.

I have this day the happiness of appearing and Speaking before Great White Chiefs I believe none of my Ancestors every enjoyed the same. I hold in my hand the Apperatus of Wood with which our Forefathers used to Collect the Fire which was First found in the Air, The Red Kings Ancestors were the First That found the Earth of which such Untensils as this pot were made of these and Such Sticks for Gathering Fire Consisted all our Riches, afterwards the white People Supplied us with other Fire and a great number of Valuable Conveniences.

I Present this Pot these Sticks to the Superintendant to be Sent to the great King as a Testimony of the Sence we entertain of our former poverty and the great benefits we receive under his protection.

The Congress adjourned.

Thursday 2d January 1772

Present as the days preceeding Except the Lieutenant Governor.

The Superintenant Ordered the Interpreter to acquaint the Chactaw Chiefs that he was ready to hear them.

Ochinchi Mingo of Ebilipougoula Chito having Strewed Shewmach before the Superintendant Governor &c &c then Concha Oumanstabe of the Immongoulasha or Peace Family of the Town of Chickasawhays Presented his Pipe to the Superintendant Governor &c &c. and afterwards said

Mingo Emmitta of Bouktoucoulouchito Great Chief of the Nation is going to Speak to his Father who has come so far by water to meet us—turning to Mingo Emmitta I desire of you that in your Speech you will express your Gratitude for the benefits you and your Nation Reap from your Connection with your white Brethren.

Mingo Emmitta Speaks

Chiefs and white Brethren

Many of our great Chiefs who attended the last Congress are dead, Since that time we have lost Five great Medal Chiefs and other leading men, the Dead cannot Speak Such as are living and Present have now an opportunity to Speak for their Nation.

Addressing the Superintendant

You are the father and Chief of the Red men, you are returned after a long absence to See us and Supply our wants, you Fixed no time for returning to meet us, you made us no Promise of a Congress at any Particular Period, but you told us That the Seas were dangerous and your return was uncertain, but That if you never returned Some other Person would be appointed by the Great King to take care of us, you are at last come, heaven has preserved you in great danger and the sight of you makes us Glad, I once lost a Father but I found one dearer and greater in you, at the last Congress we met you naked and Miserable, you sent us home Cloathed and Comforted, during your absence

I was like a Sick man you have returned to Cheer my Spirits and administer relief and I hope you will be attentive to relieve our necessities, This day I see you are a just and Good Father, and have not forgotten your Children, you are like a Great Doctor who can Cure all distempers, the Sight of whom Comforts and Chears the Spirits of His Patients; We have been used to meet Great Chiefs, this day we meet Greater Chiefs we rejoyce in the Sight of our Father and gratefully Thank the great King for Sending him to relieve our Wants? what can Red men ask of their Father? but arms and ammunition to defend them and Cloathing to keep them warm, what can make a Red man Rich and powerfull? a Gun and ammunition, it is in the power of our Father to make his Children Rich and happy by giving us arms and Cloathing.

When I return to my Nation It will be asked what have you Seen? I will answer That I Saw my Father the Cheif of the Red men the Great Governor and Chief of the white men in this Country and the Chief Leader and General of the Great Kings Warriors who received me kindly and as a proof I will Show them what I shall receive from my Father, what can we ask or Expect from our white Brethren but to Supply our wants.

Our Father is Like a Turkey perched upon the Top of a High Tree we are his Brood of Chickens eagerly looking up at but cannot reach him at our return to our Houses our Young our Old our Fathers our Wives our Children will all rejoyce and be happy in having their wants Supplied.

What can our White Brethren think of us by giving us such narrow Flaps, they dont cover our Secret parts, and we are in danger of being deprived of our Manhood, by every Hungry dog That approaches us, these Flaps are too narrow I hope this will be altered.

I must Complain of the great Quantities of Rum carried into our Towns it is what distracts our Nation we wish to see a Stop put to this pernicious Practice and That the Traders be allowed to Carry no more then a Small Quantity Sufficient to procure some Provisions and pay for the building Stores or Houses. When the Clattering of the Packhorse Bells are heard at a Distance our Town is Immediately deserted young and old run out to meet them Joyfully crying Rum Rum; they get Drunk, Distraction Mischief Confusion and Disorder are the Consequences and this the Ruin of our Nation.

I have no Complaint to make against the Traders residing in my Town, but I desire Such of my people as have Complaints to make of their Traders to speak out and be particular.

Mingo Huma Great Medal Chief of Immongula sha Skatanne said That his Father was come from a great distance no doubt to Supply their wants recommending himself and people to his protection begged a Supply of powder Ball Guns and every necessary that he cou'd not avoid representing, their Miserable Situation, as he now saw his Father who he hoped wou'd have Compassion on them.

Cholko Oulachta of Ayanabe Great Medal Chief Is glad to See his Father The Superintendant, thought he was dead, hopes he has brought, a great many Presents to Supply their Wants, and that he will carry none away, and expects that all their Horeses will return Loaded, observes That Red mens poverty is owing to their Ignorance, Desires That Good Traders under proper regulations may be sent amongst them, rejoyces to see the Superintendant altho' he never Fixed any time for meeting or Calling them to a Congress neither Two years, Four Years, or Seven years, yet finds he at last recollected he had Children, Children who have been long absent from a Father, are apt to be Importunate, hopes he may ask for Two Guns without offence said he had no Traders in his Town and therefore he had no Complaints to make.

Illepotapo of the Chickesawhays Great Medal Chief Desires all the Red men present to attend to his Speech.

I am Glad to See my Father and Brothers here to day, and Glad to take them by the Hand, I am a red man and very poor, my had is Black and Soils their white hands Chickesaws and Chactaws behold your white Brethren who have come at last to Supply our Wants. The day is now come That I much longed for, but allmost despaired of seeing, Brothers Chickesaws you and we Chactaws will Share between us the Presents which our Father has brought us as we are Brothers.

I am not come here to beg, and enumerate Particular Articles, I know my father the Superintent. is Just and knows what things are fitting for Red Men and will Supply our wants accordingly he knows us to be poor and Incapable of making Necessaries for ourselves.

Father, I beg to be Furnished with a Copy of the Tarriff to carry into my Town, That I may Show it to the Traders who Supply us with Flaps so Scanty that they are Insufficient to cover our Nakedness.

When Mr. John McIntosh arrived amongst us the Trade was well regulated but the Chickesaws took him from us since which

time the measure by which the Traders sell their Goods is Shortned and the weights by which they take our Skins are grown hevier. I hope therefore to have Standard weights and measures which cannot be altered given me to carry into my Town which may prevent Quarrels between us and our Traders; for why Should we be obliged to Quarrel with our white Brethren when my people return from hunting and carry their Skins to Barter for Goods, the Traders hold them between them and the Light, and carefully Examine them before they take them but they are not equally carefull to do them Justice my Warriors Reproach me and ask me why I who am their Chief do not obtain Justice for them? This makes me ashamed and Diminishes my Consequence in the Nation.

When Mr. Smith (who stands here) First came into my Town he acted honestly and Traded Fairly, but he afterwards fell off his measure, Shortned and his weights grew hevier; then Mr. Sims (who I see here also) Settled in my Town also and Traded Justly and Fairly I reasoned with Mr. Smith and recommended to him to follow Mr. Sym's Example but he rejected my Council which occasioned such a Quarrel That we had almost gone to blows, I have no more to say, but to beg that the Superintendant will order my old Drum to be mended or give me a new one.

Captain Ouma of Seneacha Great Medal Chief

All the Chiefs of the Six Towns except myself are dead and I am happy in having lived to See my Father and white Brethren.

It is very long Since I last saw my Father we are very poor and in want of ammunition we are Ignorant and helpless as the Beasts in the woods Incapable of making Necessaries for our selves our sole dependance is upon you.

In my part of the nation people have Sometime been murmering and Jarring, they used to reproach me, and Say, you have no Father to assisst you in taking care of your people. Your Father is dead. But this day I have the happiness to See you alive, and I hope you will Supply my wants, and those of my people That we may return with Gladness of heart, my wife and Family are here I recommend them to your care they want Cloathing.

I am now to tell you the Cause of all disorder and Quarreling between us and our white men. It is Rum. It pours in upon our nation Like a great Sea from Mobille and from all the Plantations and Settlements round about Particularly from the House of Simon Favre who is Settled upon this River. I am not a bad Man ask all the Traders and white men who go into our Nation if I am a bad man. I may be sometimes Cross but

whenever That happens Rum is the Cause I beg some regulation may be made to prevent the profuse Importation of Rum amongst us and I will engage That our white People and us will live in Harmony like Brothers.

Mr. Taitt (who I see here) is my Trader. I have no Complaint against him, but nevertheless I beg to be Furnished with Standard weights and measures, and a Copy of the Tarriff to carry with me which will greatly Contribute to the maintenance of Peace, and if the Trade is laid under Proper Regulations you will never hereafter be Troubled with any Complaints of or from us but we Will live in Friendship Harmony and ease.

Appapaye of the Town of Olitachas Small Medal.

We are poor Ignorant Red men Incapable of Assisting ourselves our dependance is upon our Father; look at us we are poor Red men, it is true, yet are we men and not Beasts my white Brethren can tame Bears Tiges and other Savage Beasts you Certainly can tame us and make us look like men by Cloathing us a Poor Chactaw miserably wraped up in a Bear Skin for Cloathes, is despicable but Cloath us and Let the great King be told that his Children the Chactaws look like men.

I hope our father the Superintendant will Consider our Situation and not Send us home with Tears in our Eyes and destitute of all necessaries I speak for my people, Send them home Sattisfied I shall follow with a Chearfull Heart.

Ochincha Mingo of the Village of Ebilipougoulochito

said he had taken the Chickesaw Talk and had Constantly adheared to it, four Towns attached themselves to the Chickesaws of which Number his Town was one That most of the Chiefs who entered into alliance with Paya Mattaha are Dead, yet he Survives and will maintain Friendship with the Chickesaws while he lives, That the Superintendant had recommended to him to Speak Truth upon all occasions which he had observed and hoped the Superintendant would not Talk with Two Tongues That as the Superintendt. had brought Goods in the Ship with him he hoped to see his people well Supplied with Guns Powder Ball &c &c That as his Town was in the Road to the Chickesaws Country it was probable the Chickesaws might Stop and Rest there but before they left this place he hoped the Superintendant would permit Paya Mattaha and him to Divide all his Goods between them and afterwards to examine his Store to see that nothing Should be left (upon the deputy Superintendant saying he would Supply them with Brooms to Sweep it) he an-

swered I shall not think much to be employed four days in That work and I Promise you I shall not leave a needle in it. Charges this people to remember the Talk they had and should hear.

Oakachitabe.

Since my youth I have been used to go every where looking for Englishmen to Supply us my people murmered and often said cannot we kill this Troublesome fellow who is perpetually Talking of and running after the English, I then told them the day would come when they wou'd see you here, the day is come, I see you here and I rejoyce, I need not ask any thing of your, you know what you are come for I was once at Charles Town the Governor of that place Loaded us with Presents, I care not if our Father the Superintendant load me so much That it will Take me Ten days to get home, altho' my Town is not far off, I can live so long upon Squrrils as I shall have powder and Shot to Kill them—seeing a Person who had formerly been a French Trader he accosted him do you know me? do you remember my Face, look at me you used to send me back with my Skins in the Woods and tell me you had no Goods for me, you then gave Ten Bullets for a pound of leather, times are Changed we get forty and Fifty now for a pound.

Baya Ouma of the Town of Chisatalaya Great Medal Chief

Captain Ouma Great Medal Chief of Chisatalaya who you the Superintendant know having seen him at the last Congress is Dead, He was my Uncle and I hope to succeed to his Medal and Fill his place.

Captain Ouma and Paya Mattaha took firm hold of each others hands and agreed to Support your talks in which my Uncle never failed during his Life I am no great Speaker I will not take up your time with many words, but I will return to my Nation, and try to Govern my people and advice them to live peaceably and Quietly without Insulting or Injuring their Traders.

I did not expect the happiness of Seeing the Superintendt. here at this time. I knew nothing of your arrival untill Mr. John McIntosh told me of it, and advised me to come down and see you I took his advice, I confess with reluctancy being prepared for Hunting which I am fond of and anxious to discharge some Debts I owe.

I am poor and helpless like other Red men, I beg a supply of Arms, Powder Ball and Blankes, and I will return home well Sattisfied.

Addresses his People and advises them to behave well not to Insult and Molest the Traders nor Rob them on the Road to the Chickesaw and upper part of the Chactaw Nation.

Cousha Ouma of Chickesawhayes

Addresses his people and said That notwithstanding all the Goods talks which they had heard he suspected they would return to their own practices after getting home and Rob as formerly, but gives them Notice That if Robbers should be killed by white people defending their property no Sattisfaction would be demanded, he represented their bad behaviour in warm Terms, and admonished them to behave well in Future.

Mattaha poush Coush and Several other Chiefs addressed their people and admonished them in the Strongest manner to remember the Good Talks they had heard and not to give Occassion for such reproaches in future.

The Superintendant Speaks

Brothers of the Chactaw Nation

When I last met you in Congress you agreed to Cede to his Majesty for the use of his white Subjects a Certain Tract of Land, as many of the Great Chiefs by whom that Cession was made are dead I shall now read and explain the Course of the Line as it was agreed upon by the Treaty then Concluded.

Here the Course of the Line was explained.

My Brothers

The Great King has been pleased to approve of the above recited Boundary and Your white Brethren are thankfull for the Lands You have gave for their use. I am not come to ask for more Land and a new Line but to Confirm the old one. I therefore desire you will Pitch upon a Certain number of your People as Deputies from you at attend Mr. Charles Stuart my Deputy and such persons as may be appointed by Governor Chester on behalf of this Province in marking said Boundary That all possibility of Doubts or Disputes concerning our respective Limits may be avoided and that they who shall live after us when we are dead may know the Line we have agreed upon, which is never to be altered except at a General meeting of your nation with the Superintendant or some person authorized by his Majesty to Treat with you for a further Cession.

The Indians Promised to Pitch upon proper people to mark the Boundary Line with the Deputy Superintendant.

Then the Superintendant adjourned the Congress.

Friday January 3d. 1772.

Present as the days preceeding except General Haldimand.

The Congress being opened the Governor made the following Speech.

Friends Brothers Great Leaders and Warriors

The First day I had the pleasure of meeting you in this House I then assured you I would pay due attention to all your Talks and Complaints—which I have done.

It is very pleasing and Sattisfactory to me to hear so few Complaints against the Traders and their Hirelings in your respective Nations and Towns.

You have requested to have weights and measures in your own possession as they may be the means of preventing any uneasiness and disputes between you and the Traders and to promote Harmony and Friendship, I shall recommend it to the beloved man Mr. Stuart to Comply with Your Request give me leave to recommend it to you to live in harmony and Friendship with your Traders, and to prevent your young men from doing them any Injury either in their property or persons and to give them all the protection in your power; let your dealings with them be just and Honest and you may from thence expect that they will behave themselves in the same manner Towards you if you think yourselves Injured by them, which may only be Imaginary you are not to take Sattisfaction yourselves but Complain to the Commissary in the Nation.

I shall not particularise upon any thing farther as the beloved man Mr. Stuart and I have Conferred together who will Deliver to you our Sentiments upon what has passed before and at this Congress to whom I beg you will pay due attention and Let not his Talks be Thrown away but remain Immoveable Fixed in your Breasts and be the Constant Subject of your Conversations with your Young men.

The Superintendant Speaks

Friends and Brothers

I have listened very attentively to your Talks in which you mention many Disorders in the Trade of the Nation which wants Remedy, The observation which you have all made That the profuse Importation of Rum into your Towns is the Source of many Evils and the Cause of the bad behaviour of which your people are accused, I believe to Very Just. But principal Chiefs you ought to Set a good Example to your people in discouraging

this Traffick you know That the Licenced Traders who reside amongst you are permitted to Carry a Little Rum to pay for building their Houses and other Conveniences, but the Quantity allowed is only Fifteen Gallons every Three Months to every Licenced Trader for himself his Hirelings and Servants of every denomination, whatever Quantity you Find above Fifteen Gallons as four Small Keggs with any person you may conclude to be Contrary to Law, and you ought to destroy the overplus by Staving the Keggs, but where you Find whole Cargoes of Rum carried in, instead of receiving the Importers into your Towns protecting them and allowing your People to Trade with them you ought to Seize Such Rum and call Two or more Established Traders that the offenders may be Committed by Sufficient Evidence and in their Presence destroy the Rum, this would be Acting like Sensible men fit to govern your People, this would be Shewing yourselves lovers of your Country and good men, and without Such assistance from you it will be Difficult to remedy the Evil which you so Justly Complain of.

It will give us the greatest pleasure to be able to regulate the Trade so Strict That Justice may be done you upon every occassion, with a View to which, Standard Yards and weights shall be given you which you may at any time Compare with those of the Traders, and further as a demonstration of the King's goodness to you, and his desire That Justice be done you upon all Occassions he has been graciously pleased to Order That a Commissary may be appointed to Visit your Nation at different times and Examine into the State of your Trade, That the Fair Trader may be protected and encouraged and That Vagabonds and disorderly people without Licences may be discountenanced and banished from among you Mr. McIntosh who you know is the person appointed to this Charge, and you are to observe That it is expected of you That you will be aiding and assisting to him in the Execution of his Office and that you are upon no Account to Screen or protect any person in opposition to him or any other officer authorized to Act in Such matters; Thus you see you are Indulged with every Proof of Friendship and every advantage That men in your Situation can wish or hope for, to make you happy and if you do not avail yourselves of them it is your Fault. I have already been under the disagreeable necessity of mentioning the bad behaviour of some of your people I am Sorry to renew the Subject but my hands and my Pockets are full of Complaints from your Traders, they are so many that I cannot undertake to Read them, let it Suffice to tell you That in order to get good men to resort to and live in

your nation, you must protect their persons and property, what men will expose themselves to be Insulted, to have their Houses broken open, and see their Goods taken as a free Booty, to have their Horses Killed or Stoln, all which has been done and particularly by the people of Opelousa and Oskealagama but I hope these Violences will not be repeated and That I shall have no more Such Complaints.

I expect That you will exert yourselves in obtaining restitution to Mr. Durette who you Robbed, and also order Horses Stoln from the Settlements and Traders to be restored to their owners, and here I must observe an abuse which I expect will be prevented in future, If a Horse is Stoln from a Trader and the Thief Games him away at Chunky, the Right owner looses him this is very unjust and cannot be Suffered for the owner has a right to take his property from the Person who Wins him as well as from the Thief, Consider your Traders cannot Supply you with Strouds, Duffles, Axes, Hoes, Hatchets Knives, Guns, Shirts Powder and Shot &c &c without Horses, they cannot carry Such Heavy Goods to your Nation on their Backs, and if they have no Horeses you can have no Goods. I hope you will think of these things and when you get into Your Town repeat this Talk to Your Young men, I cannot express how happy how proud, I should be to have it in my power to say with Truth, That the Chactaws behave well and Treat their white Brethren Kindly, That they live like men and depend upon their Industry for their Support. That they do not plunder and abuse their white Brethren, That their Chiefs behave likewise and Good Governors and well deserve the Medals and Badges of Authority with which they are distinguished then would see you with pleasure and Sattisfaction as my Children, and I would give you no more Cross Talks.

The Superintendant reminds them of their Promise of Appointing proper Persons to attend marking the Boundary Line with his Deputy and adjourns till Monday.

Mondy. 6th January 1772.
Present as the days preceeding.

The Congress being opened the Governor Spoke as follows.

Friends Brothers Great Chiefs and Warriors

This is the day appointed for Conferring his Majestys marks of Honor and distinction upon Such of you Red men as have

appeared to deserve them, I hope this will Stimulate your Young Men to behave well in hopes thereby of being Rewarded with Like Honors.

You Brothers of the Chactaw Nation The Complaints against your people have been so numerous and so particularly expatiated by the Superintendant That I shall say nothing further upon That Subject you must not Consider these marks of Distinction to be Conferred upon you nor the Presents which the King has ordered to be given you as rewards for the past behaviour of your Nation but they are given to you in hopes That your Future Conduct will be Such as to merrit them.

Let me therefore recommend it to you to behave in Such a manner for the future as will procure you his Majestys love and favour and the Esteem of the white People in this Province.

I have Spoke Twice to you already and I have nothing more to recommend but That you will not neglect to Send proper people who know the Country with us to assist in marking the Boundary Line, we do not now ask any more land of you than what you granted us at the last Congress in the year 1765 we only wish to Fix those Limits which will prevent all misunderstandings in Future.

Brothers of both Nations

I now take my leave of you all and I wish you Safe and happy in your respective Nations. I hope the Talks which you have heard will be repeated often to your Young men and never be forgotten and That when we meet again we shall have reason to take each other by the hand with the Same Cordiality and affection as we do at parting.

The Superintendant acquainted the Indians That he had received Complaints from all the nations in his department of white men who made a Trade of killing their Game, and disturbing them in their Hunting Grounds, which he said was not permitted by our Laws. That he did not mean Traders who might Kill a Deer for their Subsistance in Travelling but such persons as followed the Trade of Hunting and Killing Deer for the sake of their Skins acquaints them that they have a right to take the Skins of their own Deer as well as the Guns that kill them from Such persons, but desires them not to Hurt their persons acquaints them That Licenced Traders have no right to Exercise the Trade of Hunting for Skins any more than other people but when Travelling may Shoot a Deer for Subsistence.

That he had nothing further to Communicate or recommend, but would now proceed to Confer the Vacant Medals on Chiefs of

known merit and Charracter and did not Doubt but his Choice would be approved of by all the Nation.

The Superintendant then called out the following Chiefs Vizy.

Captain Ouma of the Six Villages.
Toatalle Ouma of Coosa.
Opaye Ouma of Castasha.
Taska Oumastabe of West Yassou.

who were Invested with great Medals which were hung about their necks and then the following Four Chiefs were called out and in Like manner had Small Medals hung to their necks

Mingo Poush Coush of Coosa
Mingo Ouma of Ichillibitcha
Oppo Paye of Olitacha.
Tunchamastabe of West Yassou.

Then the Superintendant advanced towards the Chiefs and gave them a Charge in which he pointed out their Duty and recommended to them the Strict observation of Treaties, doing Justice protecting their Traders and restraining Licentuousness of their young Warriors &c he afterwards presented them to their People as their Governors and told them That all Messages or Orders from the King through his officers would be Directed to the Medal Chiefs enjoyned obedience to them as the only means of obtaining Honors or being Taken notice of by him. Then the Superintendant presented the Chiefs to the Governor General &c who saluted them which was performed under a discharge of Fifteen Guns Drums beating and Fifes playing. The Ceremony ended the Superintendant Charged the Indians to Remember the Talks which they had heard and acquainted That he had a token of the Kings County and Generocity to their Nation which he would Immediately order to be delivered out to their Chiefs That they might Distribute them to the Warriors of their Respective Towns, at which Distribution he would be present.

Then the Conferrence ended.

January 16th 1772 this day the Deputy Superintendent Charles Stuart Esquire Set out to mark the boundary Line with Thirty Indian Deputies and a Surveyor.

January 21st. 1772.

This day the Chiefs of the West Party waited on the Superintendant with the Compliments of the Eagles Tails they acquainted him that they were arrived with about Four Hundred of their Warriors, that they Should not have Failed in coming with the rest of their nation but That their warriors had gone in pursuit of a Party of their Creeks Enimies which prevented their coming down Sooner they expressed their desire of being dispatched as soon as possible.

January 23d. 1772.

The Superintendant met the Indians of the upper part to whom he explained the Treaty and Conferrences with the Rest of the Nation.

The following Chiefs Vizy. Mingo Ouma Small Medal Chief, Mingo Emmitta of Toussana Tashapattappo and Mingo Ouma of Congito Spake in their Turns begging for Guns ammunition and all necessaries as the other Chiefs had done and recommended themselves by observing that they had long been attached to the Brittish Interest and hoped they would not be worse used then the rest of the nation our new Friends had been, they made the same Complaints and asked for Standard weights and measures as the other Chiefs had done.

A Party of Hunters from Loussanna had in winter last met a white man in the Woods who had lost his way and was at the point of death for want of nourishment that they the Indians had fed and taken great care of him, by which means he had recovered entirely, That after some days he Joined another party of Chactaws, in order to return to the nation, at which the person who had taken such care of him being offended, pursued and killed him, the Superintendant Insited in the Strongest manner, That the Murtherer Should Suffer death according to Treaty, but the Chiefs declined giving any answer at that time, but afterwards in a Private Confferrence they all agreed That Justice Should be done and Mingo Emmitta Chief of the Town undertook to Execute the Sentence.

Presents were distributed to them as to the Rest of the Nation, and on the Twenty Ninth they Set out to their nation extremely well Satisfied.

I hereby Certify That the foregoing Copy of Minutes is the True Sence of what the French Interpreters explained from the Indian Language and I Interpreted into English at the above Congress. (signed) Ch. Stuart.

Exd. Dy. S.

Secretary's Office, Pensacola 11th April 1772.

I do hereby Certify that the foregoing Minutes of a Congress is a true Copy of the Record thereof remaining in the Secretary and Registers Office of the Province of West Florida in Lib. Congresses No. 1. Examined and Compared with the said Record, by me,—

Ph. Livingston Junr. D. Secy.

Endorsed. Minutes of the Congress held at / Mobile in Decr. 1771, & January 1772. / with the Chief of the Chickesaw and / Chactaw Nation / In Govr. Chester's (No. 43) of the / 9th April 1772—

Peter Chester to the Earl of Hillsborough

No. 48. Pensacola 8th July 1772.

My Lord,

I am under the disagreeable necessity of acquainting Your Lordship, that I lately thought it my Duty to dissolve the late General Assembly of this Province, and I am now to assign my reasons for this conduct, and to explain the motives which induced me to take this measure.

It may be first proper to inform Your Lordship, I am well informed that when the Writs of Election issued in the Administration of Governor Johnstone for calling of the first General Assembly within this Province, a notion was artfully and industriously instilled into the minds of the People, That if in the Indenture between the Ellectors, and the Provost Marshall signifying their choice of Representatives to serve in the General Assembly, they could have the words for One year only inserted, it would be productive of vast advantages, and would in future by this contrivance limit the Duration of the assembly to one year.

This custom has ever since been invariably adhered to, but the respective Governors have taken care to Dissolve the different Assemblies, before the Expiration of the year, they were returned to serve.

When this was observed to me I found that the late House of Assembly was by this same Doctrine to expire on the sixth of June, and as this mode of proceeding appeared to me to be very irregular, I took occasion on the 28th of January which was

soon after my return from the Congress at Mobile, to mention this circumstance in Council, and I had the unanimous advice of the Board to issue a Proclamation for the Dissolution of the House of Assembly, and that Writs of Election should issue for calling of a new Assembly, returnable on the ninth of March then next, as Your Lordship will see by the inclosed Extract from the Minutes of the Council on the 28th January last.

In conformity to my own opinion and agreeable to the advice aforesaid I accordingly dissolved the House of Assembly, and ordered new Writs of Election to issue, and also gave special Directions to the Provost Marshal, neither to execute, nor receive any Indentures from the Electors, but such as should return the Elected to serve as Representatives *in the next General Assembly,* without limitation for one, or any number of years, which I understand is Similar to those executed in Great Britain, for the return of Members to Parliament, in consequence of these Writs.—The first Election was held at Pensacola, it was not contested, and several Electors were prevailed upon to execute an Indenture without the limitation.

The next Election was held at Campbell Town, and as it is entirely deserted, no Electors appeared to vote.—The last Election came on at Mobile, and Eight of the Principal Inhabitants of that District, were nominated by the Electors, for their Representatives, but the Electors all refused to execute any other Indenture than such as would limit their Duration to one Year only, which they considered as one of their Priviledges, alledging that it had been customary since the first Assembly was called, and upon the Provost Marshal's refusing to Execute, or receive the Indentures they offered, they formally applied to a Notary Public and entered a Protest against his Conduct.

On the twenty ninth day of March, the day on which the Writs of Election were returnable, the Provost Marshal returned the same to me in Council, with special returns on the Writs for Campbell Town, and Mobile; and it being mentioned at the Board that there were only two of the Pensacola Members who were willing to sit and do business, except the Mobile Gentlemen were to be admitted.—And it being also suggested if the matter could be explained to the Mobile Electors, and the absurdity of their Conduct pointed out, and the impossibility of their having any Members, but in the regular way, that there was a great probability, that they would be brought to a sense of their Duty, I therefore consented by pressing advice to Prorogue the House of Assembly to the 20th of April following, as Your Lordship will see by the inclosed Copy of the Minutes of the Council of

the ninth of March and for the same reasons continued them by Prorogation to the twenty third of April, when I then saw that there were no forcible reasons offered to induce any certain belief, that these People would entertain a proper sense of their duty. I thought it ncessary to proceed to an immediate dissolution of the House of the Assembly and directed a Proclamation for that purpose to issue accordingly, as Your Lordship will see by the inclosed Copy of the Minutes of the Council of that day.—And unless I shall have assurances that the Inhabitants of the Province will execute proper Indentures signifying the names of the representatives to serve them in Assembly, I shall not order Writs to issue for the calling of an other House, until Your Lordship shall signify to me His Majestys pleasure thereupon.

It is much to be wished that a regular House of Assembly could be had, as I am convinced they might be of great benefit and advantage to the Province, in enacting many salutary Laws, which cannot be framed without a compleat Legislative Body.—The Act for the regulation of the Indian Trade expired in May last, since which the Indian Traders carry up into the Nations any quantities of Rum, and commit other abuses without the least restraint, for altho this Act did not by any means fully answer the intentions for which it was framed, Yet it had many good effects, in obliging the Traders to take Licences, and in authorizing a Magistrate to seize their Goods, if they were found without Licences in any part within the Province,—and to seize any greater Quantity's of Rum than the Act allowed to be carried up to the Indian Nations, and often created the Traders, and their Securities much trouble, and Expence in being obliged to attend the Courts on prosecutions against them on their Bonds; there are several other good and Salutary Laws that will soon expire, and many more might be Enacted if we had a regular Legislature.—The General Assembly had last year just began to grant a Sum for public purposes, to wit, in establishing a Ferry at the River Perdido, and one at the Village oposite the Town of Mobile, and in building of Bridges on the road between this and Mobile,—and had they continued to have made applications of this sort our small fund, would have soon produced several public advantages.

It is a great hardship upon the Electors in the other parts of the Province that they are deprived of a General Assembly because the Electors at Mobile will not do their Duty, And if the Electors of the other parts of the Province will send their representatives regularly qualified to the General Assembly I cannot

see the impropriety that there would be in their making Laws for those who have abused the Kings favor in having allowed them a representation I shall not trouble Your Lordship any further on this head, and will only add that I shall be happy to receive Your Sentiments upon the Subject of the Letter, and I shall take care to Govern myself accordingly.

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect My Lord,
Your Lordships Most Obedient, and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Hillsborough.

Endorsed. Pensacola, 8th July, 1772. / Govr. Chester. / (No. 48.) / R 2d Octr. / Entd.

John McIntosh to Charles Stuart

Chickesaw Nation 3d September 1772.

Dear Sir

I received Your Letter of the thirtieth June with the two Copies of Letters from the Illinois but it was five days after my arrival from the Flats to this Nation, then Opya Mattaha was not at home nor none of the Head men except the Red King and Rogery, who both behaved well on that Occasion and Disproved much of the Terapin Leaders Behaviour, as also the Whole Nation, Except some of his own Family; His Brother the Buffello killer came to see me the other Day and when I mentioned the Terapin Leader to him he said that he was like a Mad Boy and that he hoped he never would return any more. Mr. Alexander McIntosh was mistaken in telling you that Eluxey was gone to the Creeks, it's true that he Stayed but four Nights at home, He with four more set out for the Cherokees and on his way was met by a party of that Nation on the other side of the Tonice River, who were coming to visit the Chickesaws he had a long talk with them and told them it was now all with them, that he had killed three White Men at the Illinois and by that time all the White Men in his Nation were killed that he had a long Talk for Oconistotie, from the Shawaneese upon which he Shewed them a Belt of Wampum which he told them he got from some of that Nation at the Illinois, and that a Number of them is to visit his Nation This Winter or early in the Spring, With long Belts and great Talks from all the Northward Nations, it is certain that some of the Northward Nations are daily Expected here, for yesterday Opya Mattaha told me that by two Quapas

who arrived a few days ago in Company with three Chickesaws told him that they were lately at the Illinois and was there desired to acquaint him, that the Northward Indians was coming to make a Peace with them, and from hence to the Creeks and Cherokees, and at the same time said that he believed the Cherokees would soon be at War with the White People that they had Already begun by killing several White Men on Holstons River and I am well informed that the Creeks Cherokees and Chickesaws are to meet this Winter on the other Side of the Tonacie River. Your talks had a good Effect on the Cherokee Leader he has behaved very well since he came home He is now gone under a Pretence of Hunting with all the Towns People he lives in, over the Cherokee River and no Doubt will be at that Meeting. What their Consultations are, or what they will agree upon God knows, but its prudent to Watch their Motions. It was a common Talk among those People a few days ago that the Creeks were to Surprise Pensacola, And Now they have it that the English France and Spain are at War and all the Red People is to be at Peace. I have asked Opya Mattaha how that News came or how they had it. he said he did not know, but he believed they heard it from the Quapas, who are daily going back and forward from their own Land to the Illinois, and the Number of Cherokees daily coming here might have told them of it. As there is no Opportunity either to Carolina or Georgia from here I must beg you will please to forward a Copy of this to the Superintendant, the Quapas who arrived lately here from the Illinois, have informed those People that there was but one White Man killed, and that a Chickesaw fellow called Baukica is Yet in Prison, which I am sorry to hear for Should he make his Escape and Return to this Nation it must be productive of bad Consequences, and had they made away with him at that time it would be all forgot by Now. Since I wrote the above I am informed that the Terapin Leader is returned. This is all I know at present of the Affairs the Nation.—

I am Dr. Sir
Your most Obedt.
Humble Servt.
John McIntosh

Honbe. Chs. Stuart Esqr.
A true Copy.

Endorsed. 3d September 1772 / Copy of a Letter from Mr. John / McIntosh to Mr. Charles Stuart. / In Governor Chester's / of the 16 Novemr. No. 64.

Estimate of the Civil Establishment of His Majesty's Province of West Florida, and other incidental Expences attending the same from the 24th of June 1772, to the 24th of June 1773—

To the Salary of the Governor in Chief.....	£1,200	—	—
To the Salary of the Chief Justice.....	500	—	—
To the Salary of the Attorney General.....	150	—	—
To the Salary of the Secretary and Clerk of the Council	150	—	—
To the Salary of a Register	100	—	—
To the Surveyor of Lands	120	—	—
To an Allowance of an Assistant	30	—	—
To the Salary of the Agent	200	—	—
To the Salary of a Minister at Pensacola.....	100	—	—
To the Salary of a Minister at Mobile.....	100	—	—
To a Schoolmaster at each of the above places £25 each	50	—	—
To the Salary of the Provost Marshal	100	—	—
To an Allowance for unforeseen contingent Expences	1,000	—	—
To an Allowance for a purchase of a proper Assortment of Goods for Presents to the Indians	1,000	—	—
To Eight hundred and fifty pounds, to compleat the Sum of Two thousand five hundred and fifty Pounds, to be allowed as pr. Estimate for the Year 1771, for building a House for the Residence of His Majesty's Governor of the Province of West Florida for the time being	850	—	—
To an Allowance to Mr. Romans for his Care and Skill in the collection of rare and usefull productions in Physick and Botany	50	—	—
To an Allowance to the late Lieut. Governor of West Florida, in part of Payment of certain demands for Services incurred within the said Colony, as allowed by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury	1,574	13	6
	£7,274	13	6

Endorsed. Estimate of the Civil / Establishment of His / Majesty's Province of West / Florida, & other incidental / Expences attending the / same from the 24th June / 1772, to 24th June 1773. / R from Plantn. Office / 2d March 1773.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Dartmouth

(*No. 6.*) Pensacola, 15th May 1773.

My Lord,

The House in which I at present reside, was Leased by the late Lieutenant Governor Browne, of Major General Haldimand,

in the Month of February 1769, for the Term of five years, at the Rent of £100 Sterling per Annum, as a place for celebrating divine Worship, holding of the Courts of Justice, and for other Public uses of Government; and until soon after my arrival here, was appropriated to those purposes; but finding the Government House in a very ruinous situation, I was advised to take possession of the General's House; will expire in the month of February next, and the old Government House must in a short time be pulled down: We shall be in great want of a place, for the public Purposes I before mentioned, and as there is no other House in this Town, except the Generals, Suitable for these services, I must beg leave to recommend, that it may be purchased for the use of Government to serve as a Church, Court House, and for other Public purposes, as the Province is yet unable to make such provision; and it will occasion an annual saving to the Contingent Fund of £100 Sterling, besides the Expences of premium of Insurance, repairs &ca.

The Terms of Sale offered by General Haldimand, are fully set forth in the Inclosed Copy of his Letter, to me, on that subject, and I think they are reasonable, as the House is in exceeding good repair; and I do not think a new House cou'd be built so well calculated to answer the purposes intended, for the sum demanded. Should Your Lordship agree with me in opinion, and think proper to have this Sale compleated, one half of the purchase money may be added to Our next Years Estimate, and the remaining half added to the Estimate of the succeeding Year. But should there be any Plan intended for removing of the Seat of Government from hence to the Mississippi, which has been before recommended; in such Case the Sum required may be appropriated for building a House to answer the like purposes, at such place as may be fixed upon in that Country for the Governors residence—

As I am recommending to make provision for a proper place for the celebrating of Divine Worship, I cannot omit to mention to Your Lordship the disagreeable situation We have laboured under, for near two years last past, thro' the want of a Clergyman to perform any Religious Duties.—In my Letter, No. 26, which transmitted the Account of the Death of the late Reverend Mr. Cotton, I observed, that I was in hopes our loss would be supplied in the speedy arrival of some Moral, and Good Man as Mr. Cottons Successor; but my hopes, and wishes, have hitherto been disappointed; I must therefore entreat Your Lordship's Assistance in this matter, and I will flatter myself that we shall soon be supplied with a Pious Pastor whose abilities, and Ex-

emplary life and conversation, will do honor and Credit, to his profession.

I have the honor to be with the Greatest respect, My Lord,
Your Lordships,
Most Obedient, and Humble Servant
Per. Chester

Right Honorable, The Earl of Dartmouth.—

Endorsed. Pensacola 15th May 1773. / Governor Chester. / (No. 6) / R 23d July. / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Dartmouth

(*No. 7*). Pensacola, 16th May 1773.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint Your Lordship, that several Gentlemen from the Northern Colonies, have lately come hither, in their way to the Mississippi, in order to view and explore the Lands Situated in that Country, who gave me the strongest Assurances, if these Lands should answer their expectations, and the Character which had been given of them, that upon their return home with favourable reports of the Country, several thousand Inhabitants would emigrate from those Colonies, to this Province; provided they could have tracts of Land in Townships to consist of about 20,000 Acres each, reserved for them, until such time as they could with convenience remove themselves, and Families, into the Colony. As these Gentlemen appeared to be Authorized by a very considerable number of respectable Colonists, who could not fail of becoming a great acquisition to us, I gave them every encouragement that I thought would be consistent with my Duty, and promised that such ungranted Lands, as they should fix upon, should be reserved for themselves, and their Associates, until they could remove hither; and that when they arrived with their Families in the Province, I would then grant them all, such Quantities of Land, as were conformable to my general Instructions on that head. They have accordingly proceeded on their Voyage, and are now visiting those parts of the Country, and I make no doubt but they will be pleased with the Lands, and I expect on their return that they will fix the locations of several Townships, which they will desire may be reserved for them, and their Associates.

A Clergyman from the Province of New Jersey has this Spring also brought with him a number of his Parishoners, who are

gone to form an Establishment near the Natches, they intend to Build Houses, and to Plant their Lands, and prepare the way in order to receive a considerable number of Families in the next year. This Clergyman has also applied for a reserve of Lands for a Township, upon which he assures me he will bring One hundred Families. We have also a considerable number of Families lately arrived on the Mississippi, who came from the Northern Colonies, by the way of the Ohio; and if we may Judge from present Appearances, we have exceeding flattering prospects that this valuable part of the Country, will in a short time, be inhabited by a number of useful settlers.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect

My Lord,

Your Lordships, Most Obedient, and

Humble Servant

Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Dartmouth.

Endorsed. Pensacola 16th May 1773. / Govr. Chester / (No. 7) / R 23d July. / Entd.

Peter Chester to the Earl of Dartmouth

(*No. 10.*) Pensacola, 19th May 1773.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of Your Lordships Dispatch, No. 2. together with Your Circular Letter of the 28th of December last, inclosing His Majesty's most Gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, and Copies of their Addresses.

It is my indispensible duty, to return Your Lordship, my most sincere and hearty thanks, for the assurances you gave me of paying a due attention to my state of the case, in consequence of the transaction between Mr. Bruce, and myself, explained in my Letter, No. 55, and for saying that you will give no countenance to any complaint upon that subject; unless it shall appear to have other grounds for it, than those which I mentioned. —I hope the just, and true, representations, I shall always make of the state of this Province, or any particulars of it, which may be necessary to lay before His Majesty's Ministers, will entitle me to that confidence which I shall endeavour to deserve by my Zeal to promote His Majesty's Service, and by a constant attachment to the duties of my Commission.

The reasons which induced me to form sanguine expectations,

that a considerable sum of money would have been granted for the Effectual Settlements of the Lands in this Province, upon the Rivers Mississippi, Ibberville, and Amit, and for carrying into execution several of the measures which I had in my former Letters recommended to be pursued for that purpose, were grounded on the receipt of the Earl of Hillsborough's Dispatches No. 5 & 6 in one of which His Lordship is pleased to say, that the plans which I had Transmitted contained a great deal of very useful information, and stated with precision every circumstance relative to the Lands upon the Rivers Mississippi, and Ibberville, necessary to be attended to in the consideration of the measures which I had recommended to be pursued for the settlement of that District, and in the other, that my Dispatches had been laid before the King, and that His Lordship was happy to find, that His Endeavours to second my Zeal, to promote the welfare of the Colony in those measures which appeared to have been well calculated for that purpose, had been so well received.—My strong attachment to those measures which I had recommended, and my wishes to have them carried into execution, may have led me to be more sanguine in my expectations of their success, than I ought to have been, from any thing contained in My Lord Hillsborough's Dispatches, but these hopes proceeded from my hearty desire of promoting the welfare of this Infant Colony.—

It is necessary that I should explain to Your Lordship, the reasons why no other Grants were marked on the plan which I transmitted in my Letter, No. 58, than those made before the Commencement of my Administration; and in order thereto, I must observe, that in my Letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, No. 24, which was written near two years ago, I represented to His Lordship that the settling of the Country on the Mississippi, in Townships, was a measure I thought would be very advisable both for the Protection and Convenience of the Inhabitants but that the injudicious method of Granting large Tracts of Land in those parts to Persons, many of whom, were utterly unable, and others unwilling to cultivate them, who had been allowed to take up the greatest part of the Front of the River Mississippi, would prevent my laying out Townships in several places upon that River, where they would be thought most convenient, unless those Grants on which the Patentees had made no improvements, had paid no Quit-Rents, and had not complyed with any of the Conditions contained in their Grants, could be considered as forfeited, and revested in the Crown; and I desired to be informed whether I could not regrant those Lands whereon no

improvements had been made, to such Petitioners as would really cultivate them, without any farther Process than Publishing a Proclamation requiring the Proprietors of such Tracts, to make improvements agreeable to the Tenor of their Grants within a certain limited term, or to expect, that they would be forfeited and regranted. This method I thought would compel them to settle the Front of the River, and induce other People to Cultivate the Lands behind. Upon my representation of the uncultivated State of these Lands, His Lordship in His Letter, No. 5, desires that I will not fail to send him a more particular State of those Grants, not only with regard to the Quantity of Land they respectively contain, and the Persons to whom they had been given, but also, whether any, and what improvement, had been made upon them. In consequence whereof, I transmitted the Plan mentioned in my Letter, No. 58, wherein no other Grants were marked but those which had passed before the commencement of my Administration, because such Grants as had passed in my Administration, were not subject to forfeiture, as the time limited for their settlement, and improvement, was not expired.

Those Tracts which have been applied for since my arrival in the Province, have only been Granted to such persons as gave me the strongest assurances, in Council, of their intentions to Cultivate and Improve them, excepting such as have been granted in consequence of His Majesty's Orders in Council, and in consequence of His Proclamation of 1763, to reduced Officers who had served during the late War in North America; and I can venture to affirm that I have not in one single instance, to my knowledge, granted away any Lands otherwise, than in conformity to His Majesty's Instructions on that head.

The Patentees of many Grants which have passed the Seals since my Administration are at present on their Tracts at the Natches, and on the Rivers Mississippi, Amit &ca and their Lands are now under actual Cultivation and improvement, and several other Patentees have lately removed from hence to that Country, and others are now arranging their affairs here, in order to remove and settle upon their Lands and fulfil the Terms, and Conditions, of their Grants; but should they neglect a measure which so essentially concerns the Interests of this Colony, I shall be happy to see their Patents forfeited, and their Lands revested in the Crown, and granted to such useful settlers as will Cultivate and improve them; but I trust they will not leave room for me to pursue such disagreeable measures, and that we shall, with Your Lordships Patronage, soon see West Florida emerging from its present obscure state and in a few Years become, from

its natural advantages, one of the most growing flourishing and happy Colonies on the Continent of North America.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,
My Lord, Your Lordships,
Most Obedient, and Humble Servant
Per. Chester.

Right Honorable The Earl of Dartmouth.

Endorsed. Pensacola 19th May 1773. / Governor Chester. / (No. 10) / R 23d July. / Entd.

(Copy)

An attempt towards a short
Description of West Florida

Whether we consider this Province only as a Settlement for the cultivation of the necessaries of life, or for its natural produce that is already known, or for its excellent situation either for commerce, as well as for a key to the gulf of Mexico (for which last purpose it is peculiarly adapted thro' the excellence of its ports,) or again as to its connexions with, and proximity to, the Southern tribes of Indians in general, it certainly bids fair to become, in a small space of time, as flourishing a country as any America can boast of.

For the first article then, vizy. The tillage of the ground; not to speak of the Mississippi, about which there has been lately so much said, that I judge whatever now could be mentioned concerning that father of rivers, would only be a needless repetition; I shall therefore begin with the next considerable river to the eastward of it, I mean the—

Pearl River. I have seen its sources which encircle together with the branches of the Tombeckbe river, the whole Chactaw nation, and the sources of Pasca Oocoloo (or Pasgagoula) river. In these its upper regions it certainly yields to none in fertile grounds. Its northernmt. branch rises about 260 miles (in a direct line) north of the gulph of Mexico. It is said that it abounds all the length of its course in an equally good soil, as that which we see where it first springs; but as we are yet in total darkness concerning its Hydrography, we can only take these vague accounts from the hunters reports. Certain it is that the two or three families living near its mouth are plenti-

fully paid for their honest labours which they bestow on the grateful Earth; and for its navigation is known to be capable of admitting very considerable craft. The next to the Eastward is the

Bouge Pasca Oocoloo, i.e. the river of the nation of bread. It had this name from a tribe of Indians who lived near its mouth, and by their industrious tilling of its fertile grounds were enabled to supply their neighbours with that staff of life. I have traced it from its first original spring down to its confluence with the Bouge Aithee Tannee (vulgarly called Backatanne, which after receiving another not at all inconsiderable branch call Bouge Chitto, running between the Pasca Oocoloo and said Bouge Aithee Tannee, and neither yielding to the first in fertility, joins the Pasca Oocoloo below the Chactaw Nation about 170 miles directly north from said gulph. Their heads are all about 235 miles in a North line from the same, its present masters who inhabit the banks from this confluence are the Chactaws (already sufficiently described in one of my former Maps) I shall therefore only observe that they well deserve the above named epithet Vizy. the nation of bread, as they yearly supply many of their neighbours with that necessary article. I have seen in their country several sorts of leguminous plants entirely unknown before to me.

Chactaws.

Concerning the navigation of this River, I shall only say that it is better than the pearl river in that article and in 1773, there was a vessel built at Chicasahay 200 miles from the sea if measured in a strait line, which vessel brought down to the Sea 600 bushels of corn, besides a considerable quantity of Deer skins. The next River is the

Navigation.

Tombecbee, certainly the first in North America after the Mississippi and St. Laurance, whether it is considered for its extensive navigation, which begins in Lat. 35°. 20′, and after receiving the Yānêkā Swāngêlô, Oaka Tibahaw, Oaka Nochohawbaw, Soocanhatche, and many others of lesser note into its western side: And the rivers called Twenty seven miles Creek, Last river, Two archers rivers, the Sispe Potocahatche (or Triscoloosa) all very considerable, and last of all the great River of the Alibamas, on its eastern side, which last confluence is in lat. 31°. 12′. and glides gently through innumerable Islands (as in this draught is expressed) and at Mobile, the Islands ending it becomes above 8 miles wide, and then assuming the name of Mobile Bay, disembogues itself into the gulph of Mexico in Lat. 30°. 11′. I myself came down its streams above 600 miles. This river also abounds in very fertile soil. I cut a cane on its

banks which measured 47 feet from the third joint to its extremity, 13 of its joints I brought down to Mobile and presented to the Honble. John Stuart Esqr. in Janry. 1772. each of them were in length above 20 inches, & above 5 in circumference. Nor was this an extraordinary case, for I might have brot. several 1000, of that size, had it been worth while, nay it was the first I came at, for I sent my servant to cut the first he could find, which proved the one mentioned.

This River in process of time must indubitably become a fine Settlement, not inferior by itself to any Province now known. By means of this river Mobile will become, one day, the only mart for the skin trade, from the Chactaws, Chickasaws, and upper Creeks.—From here eastward the land diminishes in goodness. The next River is the

Perdido of inconsiderable note either for navigation or plantable lands. It rises in lat. 31°. 10′, but it, together with the Styx, Roche Blave, & all its other heads, are invaluable on account of the incomparable pasture it affords. It even now maintains between it and the Jaensa Branch of the Mobile above 10,000 head of cattle Horses &c &c. The 3 rivers vizy. Scambé, Middle, and Chester, are of the utmost consequence to the Town of Pensacola, and will undoubtedly prove one of the sources of its future wealth. On the Chester and Scambé rivers, there are abundance of valuable Rice Lands, such as have enriched the planters in Carolina and Georgia. On the Scambé river the Swamps being higher and easier drained, they are upon that account at present more valuable to a Colony, where working hands are as yet scarce, and where labour is for that reason expensive; but when the country comes to be better peopled the rice lands on Chester river may be made equal to any in America. The middle river has few or no rich swamps upon it, only in some places there are bogs overgrown with that species of Hypericum which is here called the Loblolly bay; and even the want of swamps upon this river is an advantage, for by the number of landing places which it affords, the Town of Pensacola can always be supplied with various kinds of excellent Timber, with which the country adjacent to the Middle River abounds, tho' it already begins to be scarce below, the swamps on the Chester and Scambé rivers will prevent the making of roads there except at a very great expence. On the last and North East sides of the Scambé, these swamps and bogs I found so extensive as to render it impossible for me to examine these parts more particularly this wet season. On the west side of the Scambe and about the Weeocca, there are likewise a great

many bogs, so that I found it difficult to pass there with light horses, even in the dryest season of the year; the present road to the Upper Creek Nations however is by this route, and from the reason already mentioned, the difficulty in crossing several of the Creeks & branches which fall into Coosa, or Alibama river, as well as from the winding of the path, and the obstructions to be met with from the logs and light wood thrown down by hurricane, it is but a very indifferent one. On Chester river the swamps are also very wide but not very boggy. The Lands upon and about the 2 large lakes marked A and B are the finest imaginable & particularly those near to the latter. I would humbly presume to recommend the reservations of a small Township or Village by the name of New Augusta at C. a spot which has already been pointed out by the Indians themselves as the most convenient situation for that trade. There is even now a very good road from the upper Creek Nation to the point B., which is about 4 days. Indian Journey or 100 miles distance; and from thence they divide themselves into small parties for the conveniency of hunting in the lower grounds.

To make a road from C to B, all that to be wanting is the blasing of the trees and the passage of about 100 pack horses. (a number not much exceeding what the Traders now bring to Pensacola at one time) The distance is about 2 days journey, and a high and dry ridge of land all the way, but upon account of the water, the road ought not to be carried too far from the banks of Middle river. I should also imagine that if ever a post road to the northward be undertaken, it must go along the edge of this ridge. From C. there is also a road to the lower Creeks, tho' it has not been much used of late, but no more need be said concerning the advantages of this situation, only that 7 or 8 feet of water may be depended upon from Pensacola to it.

There is a very excellent . . . to receive such vessels as can go in there, and they are well sheltered from any wind that can blow. The tide flows about 2½ feet. Most of the highlands which I have examined from the Tensa or Coosa river to Chester River are inferior to few in America, either for summer or winter food for cattle. In many places it is gravelly, not sandy, and a kind of clay or marle is often found near the surface. When the people therefore are convinced that a mixture of clay or marle with sands makes these lands fertile, they may do it at a very moderate expence.

This part of the Country abounds in Iron mines. As to the boundary line with the Upper Creek nations, that is a difficult

matter to be properly adjusted, but I am humbly of opinion that to have any conveniency, or a tolerable range for cattle, it ought to begin at the Creek marked D. where it is said to fall into the Alibama river at Naniabé Island and near to the Bayou Cononga or Hesia, and to go along the said Creek to its source, from thence (to go across the path from Mobile to the upper Creek nation) to a cane branch which falls into the Weeocca, and down said Weeocca to its confluence with the Scambé river down said Scambé River to the turn marked E, and from thence in a line drawn nearly east to a remarkable raft in the Middle River marked F, from this raft in a line drawn South Easterly to the first raft in the yellow water or Chester river near to the hutt now possessed by the Indian called Johnny Watts, and so in an easterly direction to the Chattowhatchee, where the lower Creek Line begins.

This boundary would nearly include all the rivers which fall into the bay of Pensacola as far as they are navigable at present, and nothing but mere jealousy could prevent the Indians from granting it, as there is scarce a hunting camp to be seen below this line, and very few near to it that are of any consequence. It was on the 7th July 1772 that I surveyed the Weeva Lane up to the place marked G, and I could not proceed any further, not being provided with tools to clear the river of the rafts a little higher up, and my boat drew 18 inches water, so could not go over the gaps cut for canoes. I viewed the river higher up by land and saw that it still was wide and navigable. It certainly comes a great way. There was a land flood in the rivers, therefore could not observe the limits of the flowing of the tides very exactly, but in the lakes H and I it flows about 16 inches. Next Eastward we find the

Chatto Hatcha emptying into Santa Rosa Bay, but we know only that it receives the Talako Hatche and runs a good length and empties as above. The next is the

Apalachicola River which is the boundary of this Province and East Florida, but all we know of this river is that it is large, plentifully stocked with fish, and its adjacent country fertile, so that we must content ourselves 'till further enquiries, examinations and explorations will make us better acquainted with the Geography of that part of the Country; besides these there are several others of inferior note, the principal of which are the Ibberville, Amite, Tungippoho and Chafuncto, all now beginning to be inhabited, & not without much reason, their fertility is much boasted of, but as they are of short course & never yet been explored, I shall for the present leave them.

Next as to its natural produce, it abounds in useful plants, among which I think the Indigo deserves the first rank. This is found in great abundance, and such as is known to be of an excellent sort. Next the great variety of wild pulse for feeding cattle of all kinds.

In Timber no Country on earth can surpass it either in quantity, quality or variety. The quantity is such as makes it absolutely impossible to describe to an European who has not seen the like, and indeed it is beyond the conception of an inhabitant of any part of that quarter of the world; where such vast and continued forests and desarts are utterly unknown every where; yet the most remote of this valuable article is easy to be brought to market by means of its many navigable rivers. Among those sorts of timber the Elm, Ash, Maple, about 20 sorts of oak, & many species of Pine &ca. are in common to other Countries; but the live Oak, Juniper, Cedar & yellow pine are not to be equalled any where, and are a vast and inexhaustible mine for the building of those so necessary vehicles to Great Britain, Vizy., ships of all kinds whether for war or trade.

Next to consider the medicinal plants we find here, they are many, not to speak of the numerous variety of antiscorbutics, we find here spontaneously every where, whose value is so well known to the seamen after long voyages, and of which I shall only mention the principals vizy. the Crambe, Chicorium, Portulaca, a species of esculent Amaranthus, and many kinds of Alum, Sisymbrium, and Cacalia. I must not forbear the mention of the Jallop, of which Root I claim the first finding in any Settlement belonging to Great Britain, or any other power except Spain, and of which there is here a sufficiency for to begin its cultivation was it encouraged. The Ipecacuantha is here also in great abundance. Besides these abovementioned, there is the Pistacia, Therebinthus, the Styrax, Officinale, Convulvulas, Scammonia, Smilax China, Smilax Sarsaparilla Peenica Granetum, Memordica Elateria and innumerable others used by the Savages, and to us almost utterly unknown.

Next let us proceed to the produce of its waters, & for this the Sea is certainly the first in rank. It abounds here in fish of all kinds that are usually found in those Latitudes, principally the Jacob Evers or Jew fish; the Tarpom, the Mangrove Snapper, Spanish Mackarel, Grunts, black and red Drum; this last in this country miscalled the Carp, the Sheep's head, the hog fish, the Croaker, the Glue fish not unlike the Trout in Europe, & of the same outward appearance & so called here, Rays and a species of Turbot, Cavallos, Dolphins, Eels, among

which the Murena, a species of Albula and Mullet, besides Prawns and many others too tedious to mention, and those are in great abundance.

The Rivers have in common wtih those of Europe, the Sturgeon, the Eel, the pike, the Chub or Cherin here miscalled a trout, this last of a much finer flavour than in England and so is the Sturgeon, but the pike is inferior. Those peculiar to America are three species of the Breme, one of which is here called perch. The striped Rock, and a kind of fish that is very excellent and on which there is not a name yet fixed. It is seemingly peculiar to this Province, and in it to the Western Rivers, I have seen but one of it. It is silver coloured with a black back, flat and broad; but as I saw but one I must forbear a proper description. There is also a fish called the Gar fish or Alligator fish from the shape of its head and teeth, by the French called poison armé, and not ill described by their writers. Besides these there are three species of Eel pouts, but these are in every Sea or River on the Earth besides and of no great value, tho' some people pretend to admire them.

The Sea fish is an article that requires and merits a serious consideration. They are in such innumerable quantities as exceed even imagination, but in some parts more than others. We see every year from September to March, Spaniards coming for fish. The Northernmost place of rendezvous for them is about 100 Leagues to the East of Pensacola Harbour, where the coast in some measure resembles that of Newfoundland, for the fishermens flakes and hutts; and during the season I mentioned, it is not uncommon to see 3 or 400. white men maintained, who only bring some rice, maize and sweetmeats, and for the rest depend upon their Muskets, nets, hooks, and lines and harpoons, besides about 500, of the lower Creek Nation of Indians from the Settlements up the Apalachicola Rivers; likewise the whole tribe of Oconee Indians at least 200 more, who yearly come there for the purpose of hunting, and the skins they get make more than two thirds of the number exported from Carolina and Georgia together.

Thus this Country thought so barren & worthless, maintains by its natural produce about 1,100 people every year. The Savages are not so well provided with bread as the Spaniards who bring some with them, but both are supplied with that article in a very great measure by the Cabbage-Tree, but more by a species of Convolvulus, known by the name of wild-potato and found in the cane branches, as well by the several spicies of Smilax Clima, the root of which they pound into a flour, or

more properly an impalpable powder, and of this they make a kind of bread, which tho' insipid is very nourishing. Likewise in years when the Cane produce their seed, which indeed is not frequent, they supply them with an excellent grain, and the first shoots of cane are far from being a despicable food. They also have a species of Corcopsis, of which they make a sort of sweet bread, tho' in no great quantity; but the Dyospyros supplies them with a kind of bread that is not only in a very great abundance, but also of a very pleasant and agreeable taste, and a sovereign remedy against fluxes.

The Hickory nuts they make a kind of milk of, which they esteem, next to their Bear bacon above all things in the world. This does not ill resemble the milk of Almonds. Then the Woods supply them with such an amazing abundance of very excellent Honey that after eating in surprising quantities, they carry with them at going away many skins full to sell. This honey is so very good that a gentleman who was with me one winter, declared it surpassed the Mediterranean honey, and had two bottles full carefully put up and reserved for Lord Moira, who he said was a good Connoisseur in that Article, how his present was approved of, or whether it was really sent or received I never heard; I have these last Articles from my own Experience of three Years, during this time I have yearly seen about one Thousand Tons weight of dry'd Salted Fish go from the Western Shore of the Province of East Florida, to The Havanna, besides what goes from the Eastern Shore; in this Trade they employ about Thirty Vessels from 15 to 40 Tons, and none are navigated with less than twelve Men, the largest sometimes Twenty or Twenty eight, and most come and go twice every Season, this we (of both Florida's) see and sitt still and with this Fish the West India Markets, but more particularly Jamaica, may be supplied at a Season when all their Northward Fish is bad, and begins to decay, so that the two Fisheries would by no means Interfere with each other; and I will be bold to say, that the Coast will admit six times that number of Vessels to load Annually, add to this that the sorts of Fish caught here always fetch a much greater price in the West Indies than the Cod from Newfoundland; Who can seriously consider this without being convinced that it is a beneficial Article of Trade, nor is it a visionary Scheme as Govr. Grant was once pleased to say when I related all this, but whoever will keep his Eyes open may yearly see all what I have related, and more, for I am convinced that my computation of one thousand Tons of Fish is much within Bounds; I cannot help relating that in the Winter of

the Years 1769, and 1770, I lay by the side of a Spaniard in Aisa Hatche, who during six weeks made up a Cargoe of two Thousand Arobus, of Red and Black Drum Fish, dry'd and Salted, besides several hundred Turbotts and fourteen thousand Mulletts Rows made in to Botargo, he had twenty six men on board, and I had twenty three besides four Runaways I chanced to get during my stay on the Coast, this number of Men was really maintained by him in Fish, and there was such Variety, that with the help of now and then a Turkey, a Carcase of Venison or Turtle, Oysters and Cockles, I never heard a Complaint about their Diet, it is worth observing that of all the Mullets that were caught, not one was ever kept, except some person or other had a fancy to eat one of them, these fish were always caught during the Night, and in the Morning after an examination whether they were Males or Females, the Males were . . . . and when the Rows were taken out the Females shared the same fate; it is also to be observed that these People go upon shares, and as I had afterwards an opportunity of seeing many of this Crew, curiosity led me to enquire what their shares had amounted to for that voyage, and I was told by every one whom I asked that each single share amounted to near two hundred and eighty Milled Dollars, and I had so much reason to believe them, that I dare confidently to deliver this as from undoubted authority; This is I think good reward for about six weeks Labour. The places on the Coast that are best calculated for this Fishery, are to begin from the South and to go North and Westerly, first Cape Sable, next the Islands in Juan Ponce de Lions Bay, then to Punta Largo, next Cadimbo Espagnola, Carlos Bay and Charlotte Harbour, then Tampo and all the Coast to Amararo; after these Cape Blaze, St. Andrews Bay, and last of all, the entrance of Mobile; Now let me speak of another Article, which I think might be made of consequence to Pensacola, how conveniently are they not placed, to repair the Resort of the above named Indians and with small Vessels supply those Savages with Flower, Rice, Blankets, and a reasonable Quantity of their beloved Rum, which at those Seasons they are not much given to make an Ill use of, and many other of the heavy Articles, which by the present manner of Trading cannot be but sparingly brought to them perhaps three hundred Miles by Land upon Horses, consequently they must pay a very incredible price for them, and every one who is in the least acquainted with the Indians, knows that they will part with their most valuable things for a supply of said Articles; Now how much cheaper might this be done in small Vessels from Pensa-

cola, than on Horses from Carolina and Georgia, and would not this be a means to make the Trade of the Lower Creeks centre in West Florida, as well as that of the upper Creeks and Chactaws, this however, has not been tryed, therefore it may be liable to be thought a visionary Scheme, but I will take upon me to say, that at some not very remote period it will take place, I beg leave also to mention that to all appearance this part of the Indian Trade might be so regulated as to make it be carried on with less danger of a Breach of peace with those people, which, whenever it happens, is so dreadful to our remote Settlements and causes such an unusual and severe Service to our brave Troops as surpasses Description, and in which Simple Death is the smallest Misfortune that can befall them, for it is certain, that all the Troubles we have with the Indians take their rise in the Behaviour of the Vile Race who now carry on that Business, and whose Manners, Discourses, and way of Life is such, that a relation of it in the most favourable manner, could not fail to shock Humanity, nay, the very savages are scandalized at the Lives of those Brutes in human Shapes, and in a Case as above mentioned it would not be so, by reason that in Sea Voyages the people are often changed, and their would be no danger of their adopting the manner of Life of the present Traders, because they would not then pass their Summers in the Country in Idleness, the parent of all Vice; but to the contrary follow their noble calling, during that Season in some other Way; With regard to the Savages themselves as they do not properly inhabit the Province, it comes not within my Sphere to say much of them, only as a great deal hath been said by many writers from which we might conclude that they were a very good, Simple, honest and even Virtuous People; I must contradict them, and (after observing these Southern Indians are incomparably more given to Vice than the Northern ones) say they are a Treacherous, Cruel, deceitful, Faithless and thieving Race, not in the least to be trusted, but by all means much to be watched against, for they have a thousand Arts of low Cunning, which when they cannot accomplish, they will not scruple to commit Violence, which they do with Impunity even in our Towns and the best Settlements, well knowing we are not willing to hinder them; they despise us in a Sovereign manner, not scrupling to tell us, that they do not value us, and that we are obliged to stand in awe of them; Witness the many presents we give them thro' fear, but I must conclude this disagreeable Article and only Quote a Sentence from Old Mixon, "Let the "learned say all the fine things that Wit, Eloquence and Art

"can Inspire them with, of the Simplicity of pure Nature, the "Savage Wretches of America are an Instance that this Inno- "cence is downright Ignorance and Stupidity, and this pretended "beauty a Deformity which puts Man, the Lord of the Crea- "tion upon an equal footing with (nay below) the beasts of the "Forest." The Commercial part considered it must be evident upon a view of the Geography of this Coast that no situation on Earth is better for the Logwood Trade with Honduras and Campeché, and it is certain, that in time the Spaniards in the bottom and Southwestern parts of the Gulf must by this Channel be supplyed with the British manufactures, the Mosquito (or Musketo) Shore lays extreamly handy, where, and at St. Blas, or old Scots Settlement a great deal of those Manufactures are consumed, and the returns are made in Mahogany and Fustick Wood, Turtle Shell, Cocoa and some Gold, both in Specie and in the Mass, and the Trade to these last Countries are free from danger, and the passage to and from there, is safe, easy, and not at all unpleasant; not to speak anything of Cuba, how easy, as has been above observed might Jamaica be supplyed with Fish, a very necessary article to them, and that too, at a Season when the Fish from the North begins to be expended and loose its goodness, and this would again supply this Country with Sugar, Rum, Molasses, Coffee, and Allspice, in return for its Fish, even in a much greater Quantity than would be here consumed, the Fish will also answer at Providence, and Salt from these supply Pensacola, and I promise this a safe navigation, and a short one too; of which every body will be sensible; when those dreadful Scylla's and Charybdis's, the Florida and Bahama Banks, those Bug Bears to the fancy of our navigators come once to be as well known in general as I know them now, and it is with Joy I behold the prospect of the accomplishment of this, since daily more and more Vessels find their way thro' and over them; the Connection for Trade with the Savages have Insensibly crept in above, and there also means have been pointed out, how that Trade may be much extended; how noble also is the sight of this Coast for the Rendezvous of a Fleet of Men of War, to command the Spanish supplies of money, five Harbours that are able to receive as large Ships as are necessary in this part of the World; Make a Chain from the Southeast, to Northwest, and West, between the Latitudes of 26°: 30′ and 30°: 15′, and Winds and Currents thro' the wonderful providence of the Almighty will not permit the Ships with the Spanish Treasure to come any other Course or Way, than very near this Chain of Harbours, so that by Intercepting these, the

power of Spain may be guided (nay commanded) by Great Britain, and the Treasure that comes this way is lately encreased in a prodigious proportion, for since the laying aside the Port of Acapulco by the Spaniards all the Money which used to go that way to Manilla now finds its way to Europe through this Channel, but I confess myself not Politician enough to say more on this Head, and I therefore leave it to abler Judges to say more about it.

N.B. The Course of the Coast and Shapes of the Bays in this Map were taken from the accurate Surveys of George Gauld Esqr.

Chester River, Middle River and most part of the Scambé, the Wiocca &ca. with their Branches and the Interjacent parts of the country were Surveyed in the Months of May, June and July 1772 by Bernard Romans, employed by his Excellency Govr. Chester; the Country between the Scambé and the Taensa Branch of the Alibama River including the lower parts of the Coosa, by Bernard Romans as above.

The Islands between it and the River Tombeckbe were taken in 1771. (by order of the Honourable John Stuart Esqr. Superintendant of Indian Affairs for this District) by Mr. David Taitt.

The River Tombeckbe from Mobile to the Chicasaw Nations and beyond it as far as the Rivers Bogueatane and Pascagoula, with all their Branches from the Sources to their Junction with the Heads of Pearl River &c. &c. &c. were done in the latter end of the year 1771 and the beginning of 1772 by the same Bernard Romans employed by the Honourable John Stuart, and the whole examined and carefully connected at Pensacola the 31st day of August 1772, by the said Bernard Romans.—

All the Latitudes of the Sea Coast may with certainty be depended upon, and the Inland parts of the Map were also often corrected by the Latitude; particularly the Country to the North of Mobile where the said Bernard Romans took sundry observations of Latitude.—

The Longitude of the Entrance of Pensacola Harbour upon which all the rest depends, was taken from observations of the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites in 1766, by John Lorimer Esqr. M.D. and makes New Orleans in West Longitude $90^{\circ} : 00'$, which very nearly agrees with the observations of M. Baron of the

French Academy, and may be sufficiently depended upon for all the purposes of Navigation.

Finis.

Copied from the Original and general Map of West Florida, drawn by Mr. Romans.—

July 22d 1773.

Endorsed. An Attempt towards a / short Description of / West Florida. / Q. If this is not Mr. Romans / performance.

A HISTORY OF MISSISSIPPI COLLEGE

By W. H. Weathersby

Hamstead Academy, located at Clinton, Mississippi, was incorporated by legislative enactment on January 24, 1826. The act of incorporation named "the board of President and Trustees" and made them a self-perpetuating body. This board consisted of nine prominent citizens of the community, including Raymond Robinson and Hiram G. Runnels.[1] The school opened its first session in January, 1827, with G. F. Hopkins as principal, and enrolled during the term thirty pupils. Both boys and girls were admitted, but they were taught in separate rooms.[2]

Partially Adopted by the State, the Academy Becomes a College

In February following the opening of the school the legislature amended the charter, changing the name of the institution to Mississippi Academy, and authorizing the trustees to raise $20,000 for buildings and endowment by means of a lottery. This amendment also authorized "the proprietors of the town of Clinton" to dispose of town lots by lottery, provided fifteen per cent of the proceeds should be applied to "the use and benefit" of the academy. A further and more important provision of this act of the legislature throws light on the purpose of changing the name to *Mississippi* Academy. This further provision appropriated to the academy all rents from the "Seminary Lands" which the state had received and might receive for a term of five years from the date of the leases.[3]

The "Seminary Lands," as is well known, consisted of the thirty-six sections of public land donated to the State of Mississippi in 1819 by the Federal Government for the support of a higher institution of learning.[4] The legislature of 1827 evidently contemplated making of Mississippi Academy that institution. The reason that the purposes of the legislature were not completely carried out at this time is to be found, most probably,

[1] Laws of Mississippi, 1826, pp. 23-25.
[2] Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, Vol. II, pp. 307-308.
[3] Laws of Mississippi, 1827, pp. 85-86.
[4] Weathersby, A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860, pp. 75-80.

in the fact that certain negotiations were pending between the legislature and Jefferson College, located at Washington, Miss. In 1802 the territorial legislature had incorporated Jefferson College and destined it for the state institution of higher learning. At the request of the territorial legislature, the Federal Government had granted to the trustees of Jefferson College, a self-perpetuating body, a township of public land. But Jefferson College was poorly situated as the state developed and had not prospered. Apparently, the legislature of 1827 hoped to secure title to the land of Jefferson College, and to devote both that property and the "Seminary Lands" to the support of an institution which should be developed from Mississippi Academy.[1]

In perfect harmony with this plan the legislature of 1829 passed an act "for the benefit of Mississippi Academy," appropriating $5000 to the institution to be expended in the erection and completion of its buildings.[2] The appropriation was disguised as a loan. The trustees gave two notes for $2500 each, payable in 1830 and 1831, respectively, and secured the notes by a mortgage on the campus and buildings. The act provided that the notes were to bear interest at six per cent, but that the interest should be remitted in case the notes were paid when they matured. Neither principal nor interest, however, was ever paid, and the state made no effort to collect.

There is evidence that the school at this time was in a thriving condition. Daniel Comfort became principal in 1829. By the aid of the loan from the state two new buildings were completed in 1830, one for the girls and one for the boys.[3] The legislature of that year again amended the charter, changing the name to *Mississippi College* and authorizing the trustees to confer degrees.[4] In June, 1832, the college conferred degrees upon its first graduating class, consisting of two young ladies, Lucinda F. Bagley of Covington, La., and Caroline H. Couloer of Vicksburg.[5]

The purpose of the legislature with reference to *Mississippi* College in 1833 apparently was unaltered. The note given by the trustees was past due; nothing had been paid and no attempt was made to collect or to foreclose the mortgage. In another way, however, the legislature took over the institution. With the consent of the trustees the charter was so amended that the

[1] Weathersby, A History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi from 1798 to 1860, p. 83.
[2] Laws of Mississippi, 1829, pp. 54-55.
[3] Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, p. 307.
[4] Laws of Mississippi, 1830 (November), pp. 101-102.
[5] Biographical and Historical Memoirs, II, p. 307.

board ceased to be self-perpetuating and the legislature assumed the duty and privilege of filling all vacancies in the board of trustees, with the provision that the governor might make temporary appointments during recesses of the legislature. In the same act the legislature exercised its new prerogative, adding to the board six trustees,—Daniel Comfort, Isaac Caldwell, Cowles Meade, A. B. Shelley, Jacob B. Morgan, and Ethelwin Sadler.[1]

One of the first important acts of the newly constituted board of trustees was the reorganization of the college into two distinct departments, a "Male Department" and a "Female Department," each with its own faculty. The two departments were to have a common president, but the election of that official was deferred. In the meantime George P. Strong became principal of the Female Department, and the Male Department, without any recognized head, was managed by its two instructors, I. N. Shepherd and E. W. F. Sloane. In an advertisement in 1836, signed by both instructors, they appealed for patronage on the ground that Mississippi College was a southern institution and that the curriculum was as extensive as the course of study adopted in any of the northern institutions.[2]

During the fall of 1836 the vacant position of president was filled by the election of Professor E. N. Elliot, a graduate of the University of Indiana, who arrived in Clinton in January, 1837. The entire faculty of the Male Department was reorganized under the new administration. The president seems to have held the chair of Philosophy, a Mr. Maxwell was made Professor of Languages, and David Elliot became Professor of Mathematics.[3] The Female Department was apparently the more prosperous, if we may judge from the size of the faculty. George P. Strong, Henry Strong, and Mrs. Sarah P. Fales were associate principals, and were assisted by Mrs. Henry Strong, Miss M. P. Fales, and Miss M. H. Fales.[3] The curriculum of the Female Department at this time included Latin, Greek, French, Music on the Piano Forte, drawing, painting, gilding, embroidery, shell and wax work.[4]

As a rule the editorial columns of the Mississippi press at this time were given over exclusively to a discussion of state and national politics. For once, however, the *Clinton Gazette*, on February 25, 1837, turned aside from the all-absorbing topic

[1] Laws of Mississippi. 1833 (November-December), Mississippi State Archives, Mss. Laws, Series I, No. 19.
[2] *Clinton Gazette*, January 16, 1836.
[3] *Ibid.*, January 9, 1837.
[4] *Ibid.*, April 22, 1837.

of the times to print an editorial upon *"Our Town,"* in the course of which it referred briefly, but with evident pride, to the college, saying:

"Mississippi College is now in full operation. The known talents, acquirements, and literary standing of its President and professors must give it a reputation and an influence, which is to be felt in all this south-western country."

After 1833, however, the state government had taken no further steps toward making the college a state supported institution. The legislature controlled the college, in a measure, through its power to name new trustees, but state funds were no longer turned to its aid. In fact the several legislatures since 1833 were so thoroughly absorbed in their banking problems that no time or energy was left for the consideration of educational affairs. The Seminary lands, to be sure, from which the institution during the "twenties" had received the rents, were sold, but that action was taken chiefly to obtain funds to invest in the Planters' Bank.[1] The college was left to struggle on as best it might with such backing as a thriving local community might give it.[2]

The needs of the Male Department, perhaps both departments, however, were greater than the community could meet. In November, 1837, the faculty of the Male Department resigned, because the income was insufficient to pay their salaries.[3] The Female Department apparently was faring a little better. An advertisement signed by George P. Strong in 1838 announced the opening of the fourth session under his principalship. This announcement also contains the information that "The services of a Gentleman, lately from Germany, have been engaged as Professor of Music."[4]

The session of 1838-39 was apparently the last under the administration of Professor Strong. The school, probably, was closed for a brief period, but opened again in February, 1840, with an entirely new faculty. We have no information as to what brought about the change, but it would seem likely that it was a consequence of the financial panic that swept the state and nation in 1839. At any rate we find the trustees announcing the opening of the Female Department with "Mr. H. Dwight,

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[1] Weathersby, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[2] Brough, Historic Clinton. Publications of Mississippi Historical Society, VII, pp. 281-312.
[3] Rowe, History of Mississippi College.
[4] *Southern Sun*, Jackson, May 14, 1838.

A.M., late of the College of Louisiana'' as principal.[1] Mrs. Dwight was his assistant and Miss H. Potter was teacher of piano.

The trustees of Mississippi College were not content to allow the institution to become merely a local school. There could no longer be any hope that the state would endow the college with the fund secured from the sale of the Seminary lands. In fact the legislature in 1841 selected Oxford as the site of the University to which it expected to devote this fund. The trustees then determined to seek the backing of one of the great religious denominations of the state.

They turned first to the Methodists. The Methodist Conference in 1841 was seeking a charter from the legislature for Centenary College. The governor vetoed the act of incorporation because of a technicality. The location of the college had not been determined. The trustees of Mississippi College then proposed to transfer to the Conference their institution, already chartered, and with buildings and campus. The Conference accepted the proposal to locate their school at Clinton, but later reconsidered and fixed the location of Centenary College at Brandon Springs.[2]

Becomes a Presbyterian College

Having failed to interest the Methodist denomination in the college, the trustees in 1842 offered their property to the Clinton Presbytery of the Mississippi Synod, and the offer was accepted. The local board of trustees of the college thereupon elected as their successors the gentlemen nominated by the Clinton Presbytery and then resigned, thus effecting the transfer of Mississippi College into a denominational school without change of the school's charter.[3]

The new Board of Trustees promptly elected a new faculty under the leadership of Rev. Alexander Cambell as president. The instructors in the Male Department were as follows: Rev. Robert McLain, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Edward Pickett, M.D., Professor of Chemistry; Rev. Consider Parish, Professor of Ancient Languages; U. W. Mof-

[1] *Raymond Times*, February 21, 1840.

[2] Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, II, pp. 307-308.

[3] This proceeding was clearly in violation of the act of the legislature of Dec. 25, 1833, which gave the state legislature the right to fill vacancies in the Board of Trustees of the college. The power was exercised by the legislature Dec. 1, 1865.

fitt, Principal of the Preparatory Department. In the Female Department Miss H. E. Gillespie was instructor. Dr. Pickett was to give a course of lectures, "accompanied by experiments" to both departments.[1] The first session under the new organization opened October 2, 1842. At the close of this session the honorary degree of D.D. was conferred upon A. Newton, A. Converse, and Elias Converse. A chair of Theology was added to the curriculum and Dr. Newton was put in charge of this work.

As the state gradually recovered from the effects of the nation-wide panic of 1839, the college entered upon a new era of prosperity. The first male graduate, M. A. Foute, received his degree in 1845, and in the following year Robert Cambell was added to the alumni. The Female Department was receiving increased patronage. Dr. Newton was made principal of this department and given two assistants.

In 1846 the dissension between the "Old School" and "New School" Presbyterians began to have its effect upon the fortunes of the college. Apparently the "Old School" wing of the denomination predominated in Mississippi except in the Clinton Presbytery.[2] The majority in the Clinton Presbytery displaced the president of Mississippi College, who was of the "Old School" and elected as his successor the Rev. Simeon Colton, an adherent of the "New School."[3]

In July of the next year the Clinton Presbytery met at Clinton, being constituted, apparently, of only the "New School" element. One of the first acts of the presbytery was to split itself into three presbyteries, Clinton, Newton, and Lexington, and then to organize the three presbyteries into a "New School" Synod of Mississippi.[4] The newly organized Synod, it seems, assumed responsibility for Mississippi College, which the presbytery of which it was composed had held. The following resolution concerning the institution was passed by the Synod:

"Resolved, That we rejoice in the existence of Mississippi College (Though an *uncomfortable* institution) located at this place, and under the control of the presbyteries constituting this

[1] Advertisment signed by Cowles Mead, President of Board of Trustees, in *The Mississippian*, Jackson, September 16, 1842.

[2] J. B. Stratton, The Presbyterian Church, in Memoirs of Mississippi, p. 357.

[3] Brough, Historic Clinton, in Publications of the Miss. Hist. Society, '88, pp. 281-312.

[4] The minority of the original Clinton Presbytery now became the Clinton Presbytery of the original Synod of Mississippi, which was of the "Old School."

body, as well as the successful efforts of its friends to make it a permanent and lasting blessing to the church and to our Southern Society;

"RESOLVED, second, That we pledge ourselves individually, as well as in our collective capacity, to turn the attention of the church and country to the interests of this Institution and to secure for it all the patronage in our power;

"RESOLVED, third, That we are willing to co-operate cordially with the Board of Trustees in enacting any plans designed and calculated to advance the interests of the Institution."[1]

After two years President Colton, tempted by a better position elsewhere, resigned, and the trustees promoted to the presidency Rev. Consider Parish, who, since 1842, had been Professor of Ancient Languages in the college. President Parish was a scholarly and efficient man, but the institution was steadily falling off in patronage. The division in the denomination was hurting the school seriously. The "Old School" Presbyterians were turning all their patronage, influence, and money to Oakland College, which they had founded in Claiborne County in 1830.[2]

As financial difficulties began to accumulate, the Trustees of Mississippi College found their responsibility growing irksome. Suddenly a new possibility opened before them,—the possibility of converting the school into a state institution. The legislature of 1848 was considering seriously the question of establishing a state institution for the training of teachers. The Trustees recalled the fact that the loan to the college, made by the legislature in 1829 had not been repaid. Why not turn the school over to the state for a normal school? The Board decided to make the offer.

Having received the proposition of the Trustees of Mississippi College, the House of Representatives on January 18, 1848, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The trustees of Mississippi College at Clinton, in the county of Hinds, have signified a willingness to surrender that institution to the State for the use of a normal school; and

"WHEREAS, The State did some years ago loan to said institution a sum of money, which still remains unpaid, and which is secured by a mortgage on the buildings and grounds of said college; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the committee on normal schools be instructed to visit the town of Clinton, and ascertain by a personal exami-

[1] Mss. Records of Synod of Mississippi (New School), July Session, 1847, pp. 28-29.

[2] Weathersby, History of Educational Legislation in Mississippi, p. 92.

nation of the buildings and appurtenances of Mississippi College whether the said buildings would answer the purposes of a Normal school."[1]

This committee of the House visited Clinton, critically examined the campus and buildings, and made an unfavorable report, saying that they were of the opinion that "insurmountable objections exist to the use of those buildings for the purposes of such a school." One of these "insurmountable objections," it is surprising to learn, was that the plant of the school was *too extensive!* But let the committee tell it:

"The buildings are upon a scale and style unsuitable for purpose. They are much more extensive than would be required, and would demand a greater outlay of money at once, and entail a greater expense for present and future repairs than the plan of such a school makes at all necessary."[2]

Lest the statement of the committee should give one an exaggerated notion of the plant of Mississippi College at the time, we shall interrupt the story at this point for a survey of the campus. Near the center stood the old "Middle Building" as it later came to be known. It was then the principal college building. It was of brick, and consisted of four lecture rooms and two corridors,—two rooms and a corridor between them on the first floor, and the same arrangement on the second floor. There was also a small one-story brick building at the west end of the campus, used for the primary and preparatory work. Then there was the girls' dormitory, a frame structure. The entire plant, campus, buildings, and equipment, was valued two years later at $11,000.[3]

For two years the school struggled along under the presidency of the Rev. Parish, finding an inadequate support and becoming more or less involved financially. In the summer of 1850 the Clinton Presbytery determined to sever the connection with the college, and on July 27 passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Presbytery relinquish forever our right to nominate gentlemen to fill vacancies occurring in the Board of Trustees of Mississippi College, and that the relation heretofore existing between this Presbytery and the Board be hereby dissolved."

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[1] House Journal, 1848, pp. 485-486.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 505.
[3] Minutes Baptist Convention, 1853.

Immediately following the passage of this resolution on the part of the Presbytery, the Presbyterian Board of Trustees, who had received the institution from the citizens of Clinton, passed this resolution:

"That this Board do now tender this Institution unincumbered by any claims on their part, and agree to elect as their successors any persons who may be nominated by the community."[1]

The citizens of Clinton now had a college on their hands,—or rather a campus and college plant,—and were at a great loss to know what to do with it. Numerous mass meetings were held by the citizens, and frequently the reorganized Board of Trustees was called in session during that summer of 1850. At one of these meetings Dr. D. O. Williams offered a resolution that the college be tendered to the Baptist State Convention. The resolution was seconded and earnestly supported by Rev. Thomas Ford, the local Methodist minister, but was finally laid on the table. At a later meeting, on August 26, however, the Board of Trustees passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Mr. Ford be requested to correspond with such members of the Baptist Church as in his opinion would take an active interest in the matter, on the subject of establishing a Baptist College in Clinton, on the basis of the present Board of Trustees, and we will turn over the present building of the Mississippi College upon the payment of a debt of $500 against the college.

"Resolved, further, That he, Mr. Ford, be authorized to make no offer, but only to address letters of enquiry."

The Baptist Convention met in Jackson on November 7, 1850. After the Convention was in session, the Board of Trustees of the college held another meeting, passed the Williams resolution, which had been tabled during the summer, and appointed Messrs. Williams, Banks, Whitfield, and Stokes, to tender the college with all its franchises, free of debt, to the Convention, on the only condition, that the denomination was to maintain the school or turn it back to the citizens.[2]

Under a Baptist Board of Trustees

The Mississippi Baptist Convention of 1850 remained in session from November 7 to November 12. There was a strong

[1] Brough, Historic Clinton, in Publications Mississippi Historical Society, Vol. 7, p. 296.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

sentiment in the convention favorable to the establishment of a Baptist college, and the only question at issue, apparently, was the best location for such a school. The people of Raymond sought to secure the college for their village, while the committee from the trustees of Mississippi College were at hand to tender that institution to the Convention. The Convention decided to have a committee "On the proposition relative to the claims of Raymond and Clinton for an Institution of Learning," and named as the personnel of this committee W. J. Denson, R. Cordill, T. J. Blewit, S. I. Caldwell, J. M. Knight, M. W. Phillips, and J. B. Stiteler.[1] This committee in due time made the following report:

"That they have given the subject most patient and earnest attention. The project of building up a college at Raymond, though commended by many considerations, your committee deem impractical, because of the expense, in which it would necessarily involve the Convention.

"Your committee have had before them from another quarter a proposition which they submit to the favorable consideration of the Convention. The trustees of the *'Mississippi College'* located at Clinton, Hinds County, offer to relinquish to this body the entire property and control of the college, with the one only consideration, that should the Denomination fail to keep up a school upon the property, it reverts back to the Trustees. The property is understood to be worth $11,000.

"It is recommended that *the tender be at once accepted;* and a Board of Trustees be appointed with authority to petition the legislature of the State for any amendment to the charter that they may deem proper, to adopt their own by-laws, appoint Professors, and employ an agent to collect funds, etc."[2]

The Convention approved the report of the committee and instructed the Board of Directors of the Convention to nominate a Board of Trustees for the College. The Directors nominated the following gentlemen to become the first Baptist Board of Trustees of Mississippi College: Benjamin Whitfield, W. H. Taylor, M. W. Phillips, Lewis W. Thompson, J. B. Stiteler, D. O. Williams, George Banks, R. Cordill, W. J. Denson.[3]

On November 30, 1850, the local Board of Trustees, representing the citizens of Clinton, held their last meeting. The committee sent to the Baptist Convention reported that they had met the Convention on November 11, and had tendered the

[1] Minutes Baptist State Convention, 1850.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

grounds, buildings, and apparatus, on condition that they should be used for college purposes, and that the Convention had accepted the offered property and had nominated certain gentlemen to constitute a new board of trustees. The retiring Board then elected the nominees of the Convention as their successors and adjourned *sine die*.[1]

The new Board of Trustees decided to drop the Female Department and to open immediately only the preparatory school of the Male Department. Accordingly, Mr. I. N. Urner was elected principal and opened his preparatory school with fourteen pupils. Before the year was over the enrollment had increased to 84, and two assistant teachers had been employed.[2]

Early Endowment Plans and High Ideals

The Baptist State Convention, which met at Aberdeen in 1851, pledged the denomination to raise the sum of $100,000 "for the endowment of the Baptist College at Clinton," and elected W. M. Farrar as agent of the college to take charge of the endowment movement. A committee, also, was appointed to address a circular through the public press to the denomination of the state "on the subject of sustaining the Mississippi Baptist College at Clinton."[3]

In 1852 the Convention met at Clinton and gave one whole day to a consideration of the affairs of the college. A resolution was adopted enthusiastically which stated that "the interests of society generally, and especially of the rising generation in Mississippi imperiously demand the full and speedy endowment of Mississippi College."[4] The agent reported that he had raised in subscriptions $13,992, and the members of the Convention pledged enough in addition to raise the sum to $20,430.

The endowment pledges were made under the following conditions:

1. Subscriptions for $100 and upwards were valid provided $60,000 be subscribed within three years from November 11, 1852.
2. Subscriptions were payable in three annual installments, beginning when $60,000 had been subscribed.

[1] For the third time the control of the college has been transferred by this method, which was legitimate under the original charter, but in direct violation of the amendment to the charter made by the legislature in 1833.

[2] Leavell and Bailey, A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, Vol. 2, p. 1299.

[3] Minutes of Convention, 1851.

[4] Minutes of Convention, 1852.

3. Subscriptions under $100 were received unconditionally, and appropriated by the Trustees at their discretion to current support or to endowment.[1]

The Board of Directors of the Convention in their report in 1852 deprecated the attempt to divide the educational interests of the denomination and urged that all the efforts of the demonination be centered upon the endowment of Mississippi College and that "movements for other Institutions for males be abandoned."[2] This report was adopted, and Rev. E. C. Eager was appointed agent to complete the endowment.

The close of the session of 1852-53 was marked by the publication of the first annual catalogue, in which we find the following statement as to the organization and plans of the institution:

"A goodly number of students, though nominally not in college classes, have been pursuing regular college studies, and have now become so far advanced that in the ensuing year they must be graded, a considerable number in the Freshman, a few in the Sophomore class and higher classes.

"We are called upon, therefore, to meet this condition of things; and in view of the nature of our resources, and other circumstances, we have determined to organize the Freshman and Sophomore classes for the next year, and to provide a course of study therefor, with reference to the regular course to be pursued when college classes shall all be fully organized; which course, for the information of those interested, we indicate in connection with that provided for the Freshman and Sophomore classes.

* * * * * * *

"When our endowment shall enable us to employ a long list of instructors, we may adopt double and elective courses, if the changes (to such courses), which are now undergoing trial, shall meet with success. For the present we adopt the following scheme, which will be found to compare favorably with those of the first colleges of the country. The standard is high—higher than that of many much older institutions; but our determination is that this college shall be among the first or be nothing. We shall not aid in lowering the regular college curriculum."

The Curriculum in the Fifties

The entrance requirements for the Freshman class as outlined in the catalogue of 1852-53 were the completion of the following

[1] Report of Trustees of Mississippi College, in Minutes of Convention, 1852, pp. 22-25.

[2] Minutes Baptist Convention, 1852, pp. 19-21.

tests or their equivalent: Bullion's Analytical and Practical English Grammar, Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, Bullion's Greek Grammar, Andrews' Latin Reader, Cæsar's Commentaries, Virgil's Æneid, Cicero's Select Orations, Bullion's Greek Reader, three books of Xenophon's Anabasis, Geography, Outlines of History, Golburn and Davies' Arithmetic, Algebra to quadratics.

The curriculum for the several college classes was outlined as follows:

Freshman Year: Xenophon's Anabasis, Homer's Iliad (or Odyssey), Boise or Arnold's Greek Prose Composition, Livy, Horace, Arnold's Latin Prose Composition, Eschenburg's Manual, Davies-Bourdon Algebra, Davies-Legendre Plane Geometry, English Composition and Declamation, Biblical Antiquities.

Sophomore Year: Xenophon's Memorabilia (Robbins), Thucydides (Owen), Kuhner's Greek Grammar, Germania and Agricola of Tacitus (Tyler), Select parts of Cicero's rhetorical works, Greek and Latin composition continued, Eschenburg's Manual, Solid Geometry (Legendre), Trigonometry, plane and spherical (Legendre), Analytical Geometry commenced (Church or Davies), History, Ancient and Modern, Rhetoric (Whately), Elocution (Caldwell's Manual), English Composition and Declamation.

Junior Year: Demosthenes' De Corona (Champlin); two select tragedies, viz., Prometheus, Antigone, Electra, Alcestis (Woolsey); selected parts of Cicero's ethical works; Analytical Geometry completed; Differential and Integral Calculus (Church); Natural Philosophy, including mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, acoustics, electricity, electro-magnetism; Logic (Whately); Moral Science (Wayland); Evidences of Christianity (Paley); Public Declamation.

Senior Year: Plato's Gorgias (Woolsey); Analytical Dynamics (Bourcharlat); Astronomy (Norton); Mental Philosophy (Upham); The Constitution of the United States (John C. Calhoun); Chemistry (Silliman); Optics (Jackson); Political Economy (Wayland); Butler's Analogy; Mineralogy (Dana); Anatomy and Physiology (Cutter); Geology (Hitchcock); Public Debates, and Declamation of original compositions.

With reference to the work in Natural Philosophy and Chemistry we are told that the value of the apparatus was a little over $2000, and that a course of illustrated lectures was given on Heat, Electricity, Galvanism, Magnetism, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, Optics, Acoustics, and Astronomy.[1]

[1] Catalogue, 1852-53, p. 12.

A Growing School with Growing Plans

During the session of 1853-54 the four college classes were organized, one man composing the senior class and receiving his degree at the end of the school year,—George C. Granberry. The faculty during this session consisted of five instructors, three of whom devoted their attention to the college classes.[1]

In the fall of 1855 the Baptist State Convention again met in Clinton. The report of the trustees of Mississippi College showed that the subscription to the endowment fund had reached $88,000 and that $7000 had been paid in. The first payment on all subscriptions had become due when, in the fall of 1853, the total subscription had reached $60,000, but no effort had yet been made to collect. It was determined by the Convention that the matter of collection should be pressed. This Convention also adopted a resolution to the effect

"That it is the decided opinion of this Convention that the Mississippi College has reached a point when its success and future prosperity imperiously demand the immediate appointment of a suitable President.[2]

In harmony with this resolution the Board of Trustees changed the title of Principal Urner to that of Acting President and Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Evidences of Christianity. In 1859 he was formally made President of the college.

When the Convention met at Liberty in 1858 the Board of Trustees presented a stirring report, setting forth the progress of the school under Baptist control and its needs for the immediate future. In part the report said:

"The trustees appointed by the Convention commenced operations with one teacher and fourteen small boys. And what were the prospects at that time? They had not one dollar of endowment; there was no Baptist church within miles of Clinton; there was not a single Baptist within the whole town; nay more, the trustees could not but remember that repeated efforts had been made by the Baptists of the state to build up a college, followed by repeated failures.

"Since then, six and one-half years have rolled around. The institution that then numbered one officer and fourteen young boys, has now not only a Preparatory Department but also a

[1] The tables in the appendix give names of all heads of departments of instruction since 1850.

[2] Minutes State Convention, 1855, p. 6.

College with its four classes fully organized. Instead of one officer, it has had, for the past four years, five; instead of fourteen students, it has averaged for the past four years from 125 to 130. The present number is 126. Instead of no church at all, the Baptist church is decidedly the strongest of the five churches of the town, one excepted. . . . And lastly, instead of not having a dollar of endowment, we now have an endowment of $102,800.

"At the end of the present session we shall graduate a class of seven. We shall then number fourteen regular alumni, and such as we need not be ashamed of. We might have graduated a much larger number, if inclined to distribute the honors of the college cheaply. But our standard is high, and rigidly, as some of our students would testify, have we enforced it."[1]

In this report of the trustees is found a tabulated statement of the condition of the endowment fund as follows:

Endowment

Total amount of endowment fund	$102,800.00
Due of above fund	84,000.00
Collected	34,994.76
Due and not collected	49,005.24
Not yet due	18,800.00

Interest

Total amount due	$21,917.91
Collected	13,439.40
Due and not collected	8,478.51

Two years later the report of the Trustees to the Convention stated that there was then over $100,000 of invested endowment. The nature of the investments is not quite clear, but apparently many of the subscribers, instead of paying their subscriptions in cash to the college, had given interest-bearing notes for the amounts as they fell due, or had borrowed upon their notes from the endowment fund the amount they paid in. These notes from subscribers were included in the statement of invested funds and the subscriptions counted as paid. Furthermore, subscribers who gave notes for $500 or more were given a permanent scholarship in the institution, on the theory that the interest on such a sum would cover the cost of tuition of one boy in college for a year. This scholarship was transferable.

When the Trustees of the College reported that the full amount of $100,000 had been over-subscribed on the endowment, the Convention of 1858 passed a resolution that "This Conven-

[1] Minutes State Baptist Convention, 1858, pp. 22-25.

tion now proceed to raise the Chapel fund." A building fund of $50,000 had been authorized a year before with the understanding that the endowment was to be completed before the new movement was launched. By May, 1859, $12,000 of the amount had been raised and the contract for a chapel building to cost $18,000 had been let.[1] The catalogue of 1860-61 says: "This chapel is now finished. The chapel is 110 feet long and 56 feet wide. It is built of brick at a cost of nearly $25,000."

Along with the progress in a material way, there had been also a steady growth in attendance. The first year under Baptist control showed an enrollment of 84; the second year, 92; the third year, 137, of whom 20 were in the regular college classes. By 1859-60 the total enrollment was 201, of whom 3 were seniors, 12 were juniors, 7 were sophomores, and 16 were freshmen. Of the rest 15 were taking a special "Scientific Course," and 148 were preparatory students.

Civil War and Its Aftermath

Few people either North or South realized at the beginning of the Civil War that there should follow a struggle of such intensity, and that it would be drawn out over four long years. The Trustees of Mississippi College determined that the school should continue without interruption. At the State Convention at Macon in May, 1861, the report of the Trustees contained the following paragraph:

Within the last month, the perfidy and madness of the Washington government having forced actual war upon us, many of our students and three of our teachers, Messrs. J. H. York, E. G. Banks, and M. J. Thigpen, formed themselves into a volunteer company, called the Mississippi College Rifles. This company is accompanied by Captain J. W. Welborn, a trustee of the college. This company is now in the service of the government. Many other students have attached themselves to companies of their own neighborhood. . . . Though large numbers have been drawn off from the college, and though a large number of other colleges have suspended, we have deemed it best to continue the exercises of our college. Our country does not require the services of all her young men, and many boys are too young to enter the army. All these should continue their studies, and thus fit themselves better for the weighty responsibilities that will be theirs in a few years.[2]

[1] Trustees' report, Minutes Baptist State Convention, 1859.
[2] Minutes Baptist State Convention, 1861.

As the War continued, however, even the younger boys of college age were drawn into the armies, and the faculty, too, found themselves most needed on the fields of battle. Finally, President Urner alone, a Northern man, was left as caretaker of the college plant. Nominally the college continued its sessions; in reality it was only a local school for the town of Clinton, presided over by a gentleman bearing the dignified title of "President and Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy and Evidences of Christianity."[1] President Urner, however, with the assistance of President Hillman of Central Female Institute, succeeded in preventing the destruction of the new chapel and other buildings by the Federal Army.

When the Civil War had ended, Mississippi College had no faculty, no students, and not even a board of trustees that could function, for the board of trustees had been so depleted that it could not muster a legal quorum. Finally, someone seems to have discovered the long neglected amendment to the charter of the college of December 25, 1833, by which the legislature was given the power to fill vacancies in the board of trustees. In the emergency the remaining members of the board appealed to the legislature for relief and secured the passage of an act entitled, "An act to appoint additional trustees of the Mississippi College at Clinton." Under this act, approved December 1, 1865, there were added to the Board of Trustees George Whitfield, S. A. Wells, and Joseph Hudnall.[2]

For the first time since 1861 the Board of Trustees held a meeting with a legal quorum present on January 11, 1866. The minutes of the several meetings held during the interval, and all the transactions of the Board, save one, were ordered approved.[3] The college had not attempted to open its doors to students in the fall of 1865, and no steps were taken until 1867 looking to the reopening of the school. During these two years the Board was absorbed in the unprofitable task of trying to realize on the scholarship notes, in which the pre-war endowment was "invested."

A report of the Trustees to the Baptist State Convention in May, 1866, contained the following statement as to the status of the endowment:[4]

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[1] Rowe, A History of Mississippi College, p. 18.

[2] Laws of Mississippi, 1865, p. 306.

[3] Minutes Board of Trustees, Mss. Record. The action not approved had provided that the College would return to the Baptist Church of Clinton $2,000 paid on the chapel building whenever the church decided to erect a house of worship.

[4] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1866, p. 8.

Uncollected scholarship notes, principal and interest.....	$81,466
Uncollected donation notes, prin. and int.....	5,511
Loans "to several parties"	5,260
Six R.R. bonds and coupons	7,920
Cotton money in treasury	900
Total endowment	$98,057

The report added that many signers of the notes were then insolvent as a consequence of the War. It was resolved, however, to enter suit against all who failed to pay the amount of their notes, provided the subscribers were supposed to be solvent. A number of these suits were filed, but the college secured little else than a few court judgments and a great deal of animosity. As a matter of fact the $100,000 endowment of Mississippi College was all on paper, and the paper was practically worthless.

Not only was the college without endowment or ready funds, but it was oppressed with debt. President Urner's salary had continued throughout the War, but had not been paid. After the close of the War he had secured a judgment against the college for $6,681.55, but had agreed to accept $6000, if paid by January 1, 1868. The Board of Trustees turned to the Rev. Walter Hillman, then President of Central Female Institute, for help in raising the money to meet the indebtedness to Mr. Urner. President Hillman could not leave his school, but it was agreed that his wife, Mrs. Adelia M. Hillman, should go North and attempt to secure the necessary funds. She was successful to the extent of securing by donations and a loan sufficient funds "to partially repair the buildings and to stay the execution of the impending judgment."[1]

In September, 1867, the Board of Trustees elected the Rev. Walter Hillman President of Mississippi College, and appointed October 21, 1867, for the opening of the college, but only to freshmen and preparatory students. President Hillman was appointed chairman of a committee to secure a principal of the Preparatory Department. On the date set the college again opened her doors and welcomed a student body of two freshmen and nine preparatory students. During the progress of the session the total enrollment increased to 29. The growth in attendance, however, was rapid, and by 1870 the enrollment had increased to 101.

[1] Catalogue of Mississippi College, 1870.

The Struggle with Debt

The great problem of President Hillman throughout his administration was to clear the college of the burden of debt. The amount, in this day, seems small, but with a war-impoverished constituency and no resources, it was a staggering load. In order to relieve the embarrassment of the college, Dr. Hillman, early in his administration personally paid the balance due his predecessor, and took a mortgage on the campus and buildings. When the obligation to the president became due, neither principal nor interest had been paid and there were no funds in the college treasury to meet the note. The Trustees, therefore, allowed the property to pass into the hands of President Hillman.

When the Baptist State Convention met in June, 1869, the body was informed that the college was no longer the property of the Convention. The Convention appointed a special committee on Mississippi College with W. S. Webb as chairman. After a conference with Dr. Hillman, this committee reported that Dr. Hillman was willing to extend the time for redemption of the college to eight or nine months, and urged the Convention to undertake to raise funds for the purpose. Various members of the Convention pledged themselves to raise amounts varying from $100 to $500, making a total sum of $2800. Rev. E. C. Eager was then appointed to raise the balance of the "redemption fund."[1]

One of the schemes for bringing additional support and patronage to the college was to share the institution with the Baptists of the sister states of Louisiana and Arkansas, neither of which had a Baptist college. In 1870 the Mississippi Baptists formally invited the conventions of Arkansas and Louisiana to coöperate with them in the support of the college, with the understanding that the convention of each state should elect a number of trustees proportionate to the number of communicants in the churches of each state.[2] The project was approved by both Arkansas and Louisiana and the trustees were apportioned to the three states as follows: Mississippi, 9; Arkansas, 4; Louisiana, 3. The arrangement, so far as Arkansas was concerned, lasted only four years, but Louisiana Baptists continued to share the responsibility for the college until 1885.[3]

[1] Minutes State Baptist Convention, 1869, p. 20. At the Convention in 1870 the fund had been increased to $8,564.25.

[2] Minutes Mississippi Baptist State Convention, p. 39.

[3] Of the 163 students enrolled in 1873-74, 35 were local students, 93 were boarding students from Mississippi, 24 from Louisiana, and 11 from Arkansas.

When the Mississippi Baptist State Convention met in Meridian in 1872, the Board of Trustees was able to report that the college was out of debt and the unincumbered property of the three state conventions. Rev. E. C. Eager, who as College Agent had begun the arduous task of freeing the institution from debt, was forced to resign on account of sickness, and was succeeded in the work by Rev. A. A. Lomax. Finally, Professor M. T. Martin, of the Chair of Mathematics in the college, was requested to leave his work and go into the field to complete the task. To all of these men the college owes a debt of lasting gratitude.

The fact that the institution was free from debt was encouraging; but an endowment seemed imperative if the school was to be permanent. President Hillman had recovered four railroad bonds valued at $1000 each, and this constituted the total endowment in 1872. The Convention pledged itself to undertake to raise at once an endowment of $100,000 in the three states then supporting the college, and Professor Martin was appointed to undertake the task.

The session of 1872-73 marked the close of Dr. Hillman's administration. A brief quotation from the catalogue of that year sums up rather effectively the accomplishments of his term of service. The statement is as follows:

"In the month of August, 1867, the Trustees then in power determined to re-open the college. The obstacles in their way were many; the encouragements, few. Had an inventory of their possessions been taken, it would have made the following exhibit:

"An unfenced campus; buildings in the condition in which they had been left by the rough hand of war, without a single room, except the large audience room, fit for use; libraries and apparatus; an endowment consisting of claims against parties, who, with scarcely an exception, were either bankrupt or on the verge of bankruptcy; a debt of nearly $8000 and constantly increasing; no president, no professors, and no students; a denominational institution, with little interest in that denomination in its favor, possessed of few warm friends and many bitter enemies. . . .

"In the latter part of October the session began with one instructor besides the president, and with an attendance of two in the freshman class and nine in the preparatory department. From that time to the present, the work of reconstruction has gone on uninterruptedly and prosperously, changing the condition of the college in all respects for the better; until an inventory of WHAT THE COLLEGE IS would read as follows:

"Grounds fenced; rooms thoroughly repaired and refurnished; old debts paid and money at command to meet all liabilities now

maturing; funds toward proposed endowment to the amount of over $37,000; eight professors and instructors in the faculty; 190 students, and 44 of these studying for the ministry; the denomination of Mississippi and many other friends of education aroused to full sympathy and to a lively interest in the support and general welfare of the college; the denominational conventions of Arkansas and Louisiana concentrating their entire influence upon her as their own adopted institution; a host of friends, and few or no enemies."

Administrative Reorganization Under President Webb

The session of 1873-74 was marked by the accession of a new president, considerable change in the personnel of the faculty, and a new plan of organization. President Hillman chose to retire from his connection with Mississippi College and devote his energies wholly to Central Female Institute (now Hillman College), which was his own personal property. The Trustees of Mississippi College called Dr. W. S. Webb from his place as instructor in theology in the college faculty to the presidency.

In the reorganization of the faculty, following Dr. Webb's elevation to the presidency, only two members of the faculty retained their positions of the preceding year: Professor M. T. Martin of the Department of Mathematics and Dr. Benjamin H. Whitfield of the Department of Natural Sciences. Prof. H. Carter Timberlake was promoted from the principalship of the Preparatory Department to the chair of Latin. The new members of the faculty were James D. Coleman, A.M., Professor of Greek; D. S. Burke, A.M., Principal of the Preparatory Department; Frank W. Broaddus, teacher of French; and Walter S. Brown, librarian. President Hillman took the chair of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy. The chair of English was not filled until ten years later, the work of that department being divided among the other professors.[1]

With reference to the curriculum there was established a new plan of organization, which was described in the catalogues of the time as follows:

"In this institution, except in the preparatory department, there is no regular curriculum. Scholarship is measured not by the time spent in college, but by the attainment actually made. Degrees are conferred when the prescribed studies have been *mastered,* not when a fixed course of study has been passed over.

[1] Mississippi College Catalogue, 1874-75.

The organization, for the present, consists of a preparatory department, and the following eight schools, constituting the collegiate department: A School of Mental and Moral Science, a School of Greek, a School of Latin, a School of Mathematics, a School of Natural Sciences, a School of English, a School of Modern Languages, and a Commercial School."[1]

Three degrees were offered by the institution, bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, and bachelor of literature, for each of which the requirements were stated in the catalogue as follows:

"Any student completing the first six schools of the College as now organized will be entitled to the degree of A.B.; those completing the schools of Moral Science, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, and English will receive the degree of B.S.; those completing the schools of Moral Science, Greek, Latin, and English will receive the degree of B.L. Those completing one school will be entitled to a certificate setting forth their special attainments."[2]

The Struggle to Make Ends Meet

The chief difficulty which the new administration had to contend with was the problem of maintaining a college on an inadequate income. It will be remembered that the Convention in 1872 had designated Professor M. T. Martin to lead a campaign to raise a new endowment of $100,000. Professor Martin reported to the next meeting of the Convention that he had succeeded in raising subscriptions to the amount of $37,000. The movement seems to have stopped with this much of the task accomplished. A very small proportion of this sum was ever paid in cash, but, instead, the subscribers paid their subscriptions by signing interest-bearing notes for the amounts they had pledged. The result was an endowment of a little over $40,000, most of which was in worthless paper.

The Convention of 1875 hit upon a modest scheme to renew the effort for the endowment. The Baptists of the South generally, it seems, were planning various forward movements in celebration of the centennial of the nation. In Mississippi it was proposed that the occasion be turned to the increase of the endowment of Mississippi College. The plan was that every Baptist in the states of Louisiana and Mississippi should be asked to contribute one dollar to the cause. To encourage the movement a certificate was

[1] Catalogue, 1875-76. Only the first six schools were organized in 1873.
[2] Catalogue 1875-76, p. 18.

prepared, decorated with an engraving of the chapel building and the faces of the president and professors.

The direction of this work was committed to the Rev. James Nelson, a citizen of Clinton, but little progress was made. Mr. Nelson, while engaged in the work in Louisiana, was taken sick, came home, and died. When the next Convention met, an attempt was made to revive interest in the movement. On the floor of the Convention Professor Martin engendered considerable enthusiasm, and secured pledges for $8950. But when the Convention adjourned, the enthusiasm subsided, and little was accomplished.

As time went on it became increasingly difficult to collect the interest on the endowment notes. In their report to the Convention in 1877, the Trustees of the college made the following statements:

"The interest due on endowment-notes on the first of January was about $14,000. . . . But comparatively little of this interest is paid each year. . . .

"It seems to the Board hardly practical to make much effort to increase the number of endowment notes under existing circumstances."[1]

We learn from the financial statement of the Trustees two years later that during the preceding year $1078.50 was collected of the interest on approximately $35,000 of endowment notes. The total invested endowment aside from these notes was $6966.40, which brought the college an income of $623.75.

When President Webb took charge of the institution, the lack of adequate endowment was bad enough, but the situation was made worse by the existence of a large number of free scholarships, which the college was bound to honor. Only $4000 of the original ante-bellum endowment of the college was left to the institution, when the clouds of Civil War finally lifted. But a large part of that endowment had been secured by the exchange of the promise of a scholarship in exchange for a $500 "scholarship note." Eighty of these scholarship notes had been paid, and perpetual scholarships had been issued, on each of which one student might attend the college without paying tuition. The endowment which had accrued had been lost in the upheaval of the Civil War, but the scholarships remained. The following statement from Captain W. T. Ratliff gives a vivid picture of the difficulties the college had to face from this cause and of the means used to remove these difficulties:

[1] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1877, pp. 17, 18.

"We found that just in proportion as the college was not able to carry these scholarships, the holders were disposed to use them. . . . When it was evident that the right to use the scholarships would in most cases be exercised, it was plain to any thinking mind that it would be only a question of time when the college would have to be abandoned by the denomination, as the incumbrance imposed by those scholarships was greater than the value of all the buildings, grounds, and other belongings of the college.

"What could be done to meet this difficulty was a question often discussed between the presidents of the Board and Faculty, and with Professor Martin. After much deliberation and anxious discussion, Professor Martin proposed, that, if a man could be found, who would acceptably fill his place in the chair of mathematics for a few months, he would undertake the work of inducing the holders of these scholarships to surrender them to the college.

"Within a few hours from the time Professor Martin submitted his proposition, John H. Eager, a member of the senior class, had been secured to take the mathematics, and Professor Martin was ready for the field. He was owner of a good saddle horse at that time, and before the sun of that day began to wane, he was many miles from Clinton on his great mission. It was not long before a message came from him like this:

"'*Horse given out; have secured another, and six scholarships.*'

"This message was followed in a day or two by another of like import, then another, and thus they came from day to day and week to week, until we had notice of quite a number of horses left by the wayside. But at the end of six weeks the professor rounded up at Clinton with the eighty scholarships (except a few) surrendered to the college."[1]

There was great rejoicing at the success of Professor Martin's undertaking both in the immediate college circles and at the Baptist State Convention in 1876 when the Board of Trustees reported that all but two of the old scholarships had been surrendered.[2]

The retirement of these scholarships was a great relief to the college treasury, but the institution still had to depend upon tuition fees for practically its whole revenue. That whole revenue for a year, as indicated in the trustees' report in 1879 was only $5772.91, of which about $4200 had paid the salaries of the professors, including the president. In the face of this report,

[1] Leavell and Bailey, A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, Vol. II, p. 1309.

[2] Minutes Mississippi Baptist State Convention, 1876, p. 11.

the Convention felt that something must be done to relieve the situation. Despairing, for the time being, of increasing the permanent endowment, the Convention passed a resolution to make an effort to raise $4800 to ensure the president's salary for four years and thus relieve the budget to that extent.[1] It does not appear how much of this sum, if any, was actually raised.

Change in the Charter

The Convention of 1879 passed resolutions calling upon the trustees to secure a number of important amendments to the charter for the purpose of making the relation of the college and the denomination more vital. As a result of these resolutions the trustees secured an act of the legislature, approved March 5, 1880, which brought the Board of Trustees more completely under the authority of the Convention and gave greater security to the property and to any endowment that might some day be secured. The Baptists of Arkansas had ceased to coöperate in support of the college, and were accordingly excluded from the control of the institution. Under the amended charter the Board of Trustees was made to consist of 27 members elected by the Mississippi Baptist Convention and 9 members elected by the Louisiana Convention, one-third of the number from each state being elected each year for a period of three years. To better secure the Conventions in the possession of their property, the amendment declared the endowment a trust fund, exempted the school property from taxation, and made it impossible to mortgage the property for debt. This latter provision apparently applies only to the campus twenty acres and the improvements thereon.[2]

A Small Endowment at Last; President Webb Resigns

For more than ten years the question of endowing the college was quiescent. In 1889 the Board of Trustees decided that the time was ripe for a renewal of the agitation for an endowment. Dr. J. B. Gambrell was appointed college agent and sent into the field to secure subscriptions, and with the aid of the pastors of the Baptist churches over the state, succeeded in raising on paper within three years the amount of $60,000. These sub-

[1] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1879, p. 24.
[2] Laws of Mississippi, 1880, pp. 294-297.

scriptions were payable in cash, to be invested in gilt-edged securities. When the financial panic of 1893 came on, $40,000 of the amount subscribed had been collected and invested in bonds. The balance of the subscriptions were never collected.[1]

In 1891, President Webb resigned his position as administrative head of the college, but remained in the faculty until 1898 with the title of Emeritus Professor of Psychology and Ethics. He had given eighteen years of faithful, efficient, and self-sacrificing service to the institution. Beginning with an enrollment of 163, he closed his last session with exactly 250. During his administration 123 young men had graduated from the college with a bachelor's degree, and 2 had received the degree of Master of Arts.

A Trio of Troubles

Dr. R. A. Venable, an alumnus of the college, was elected to the presidency to succeed Dr. Webb. The plan of organization of the college was modified and regular prescribed courses of study were outlined for each of the four college years, leading to the degrees of bachelor of arts and bachelor of sciences.

Dr. Venable's administration had hardly got under way before the first of a trio of troubles assailed the college. The state of Mississippi, and the rest of the nation as well, was confronted with one of the severest financial panics in the history of the country. The "hard times" that accompanied and followed this panic reduced materially the attendance at the college, and consequently its revenues.

In the midst of these financial difficulties the Mississippi Baptist Convention in 1892 brought up the question of removal of the college, the discussion of which aroused a great deal of dissension and bitterness. A committee of fifteen was appointed by the Convention to enquire into the matter and report to the Convention of the following year.[2] The committee reported to the next Convention the results of their investigation, without recommendation, and the Convention passed a resolution to the effect that, if the city of Meridian would do certain things in the way of providing grounds and raising a building fund, the Convention would move the institution to Meridian.[3] The citizens and friends of Clinton at once raised the legality of the question,

[1] Captain Ratliff in Bailey and Leavell's Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, Vol. II, p. 1314.
[2] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1892.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1893.

pointing out that the college was donated to the Baptist Convention in 1850 "with the one only consideration, that should the Denomination fail to keep up a school upon the property, it reverts back to the Trustees" (that is the local body of trustees representing the town of Clinton).[1]

As a result of the contention of the citizens of Clinton, the city of Meridian withdrew her proposition, but many of the Baptists of the state were estranged from the college, contending they were unwilling to contribute to the support of an institution as long as the people of Clinton held any sort of claim on it. The matter was finally settled by fixing the location permanently in Clinton, after the people of Clinton had agreed to execute the proper papers and consent to an amendment to the charter, which deprived them of all claim or title to the property.[2]

The enrollment of the college, which had been 250 the last year of President Webb's administration had dropped to 166 in 1892-93. By taking the field and personally making an active canvass for the college and delivering a large number of lectures in its interest, Dr. Venable brought the attendance back to 228 for the session of 1893-94. Then, having served the college with marked ability for four years, Dr. Venable retired from his connection with the institution to return to his work as a pastor.

For two years the college had no president. Dr. J. W. Provine, Professor of Natural Sciences, was made chairman of the faculty, and took upon himself most of the responsibility for the administration of the college. In 1897 he was elected to the presidency, and served for one year, retaining, however, his chair in the faculty, which he preferred to the administrative duties. During these three years extensive and important improvements were made on the buildings, campus, and equipment of the institution.[3]

The last year of Dr. Provine's administration was marked by the third of our trio of troubles, one of the most serious disasters in the history of the school. We may well let the catalogue tell the story:

"In the summer of 1897 yellow fever appeared on our Gulf Coast; from there it reached Edwards, and from Edwards it reached Clinton. The fever lingered until December. All the other male-schools of the state opened about the middle of November, but at that time no one could tell when it would be pos-

[1] Report of Committee to Convention, Minutes, 1850.
[2] W. T. Ratliff in Leavell and Bailey's Complete History of Mississippi Baptists, Vol. II, p. 1317.
[3] Mississippi College Catalogue, 1898-99, p. 8.

sible to open at Clinton. Thus the students scattered and the college was left without patronage. Through the efforts of Dr. W. T. Lowrey, then president of Blue Mountain College, over $3000 was raised, and by the professors making heavy sacrifices, the crisis was passed."

The total enrollment for "the yellow fever year," as it was often called, was 115, about half of the normal attendance at this time. At the end of the year Dr. Provine asked to be relieved of the presidency, in order that he might devote his time exclusively to his department. His resignation was accepted, and he returned to his chair of Natural Sciences.

A Period of Development

Dr. W. T. Lowrey, president of Blue Mountain College, was selected by the Board of Trustees to take over the presidency of Mississippi College, and entered upon his new duties in September, 1898. A few weeks later yellow fever again made its appearance in the state, but did not reach Clinton. The epidemic served, however, to reduce largely the normal patronage of the school.

The administration of Dr. Lowrey was marked by the rapid development of the college along various lines. The endowment was enlarged, the patronage was largely increased, new buildings were erected, new departments of instruction were added, and the curriculum was strengthened.

In 1901 the Board of Trustees gave Dr. Lowrey a leave of absence for one year from his administrative duties in order that he might lead a movement for increasing the endowment of the college. The American Baptist Education Society promised to donate to the endowment $15,000, provided the people of the state would give $45,000. Dr. Lowrey succeeded in getting the necessary amount from the people of the state, and the $60,000 were added to the endowment.[1]

As the college grew and prospered under the new administration it became more and more apparent that new and better buildings were necessary. No permanent building had been erected on the campus since the chapel building was completed in 1860. In 1905 the family of Captain Z. D. Jennings announced their purpose to give the college $20,000 for a memorial building. At the same time the General Education Board of New York City promised President Lowrey $25,000 for new

[1] Mississippi College Catalogue, 1902-03.

buildings, provided the people of Mississippi would give $75,000. Mr. Andrew Carnegie was also approached in the interest of the college, and he agreed that, if the $100,000 should be raised for new buildings, he would add $20,000 to the endowment. With such an incentive before him the President went into the state to secure the $75,000 that the Mississippi Baptists must contribute, and brought the movement to a successful conclusion.[1]

As a result of the building campaign two new buildings were erected in 1907 and a third in 1911. These buildings were Jennings Hall, a three-story fire-proof dormitory; a large one-story dining-hall; and the new Science Hall, a three-story building, with a large basement additional.[2] These buildings are all of brick and reinforced concrete.

From the standpoint of patronage Dr. Lowrey's administration surpassed all previous history of the college. In one year the enrollment reached 460. In 1910-11, his last year as president of Mississippi College, the attendance was about 400. It must be remembered, however, that a large proportion of these were preparatory students, for the college was still offering two years' preparatory work, and was admitting boys to its freshman class on only two years of high school work.

A study of the college catalogues for the period of Dr. Lowrey's tenure reveals clear evidence of the development of the curriculum of the school. Several new departments were added, as follows: History, Modern Languages, and Bible; while the Department of Natural Sciences was divided into the two departments of Chemistry and of Biology and Geology. Two full curricula were prescribed, one leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and the other to the degree of Bachelor of Science. The entering wedge of the elective system may be seen, however, in the following statements from the catalogue:[3]

"In the A.B. course, Bible study to the amount of five points may be substituted for an equal amount of work in Modern Language, Latin, or History, provided the Bible is taken during the four college years, and provided further, that not more than two of the Bible studies are to be taken during the same session.

"In the A.B. course the student may substitute Senior Chemistry for Senior German.

"In the B.S. course Bible work may be substituted for an equal amount of work in Modern Languages, or for Sophomore History. In the B.S. course a student may substitute two years in

[1] See current catalogues of Mississippi College.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Mississippi College Catalogue, 1909-10.

Greek for two years of Modern Languages, or he may substitute American History for Senior German.''

The Military Companies

One feature of the internal affairs of the college that has not been mentioned thus far, but is too important to overlook, is the place in the student life of the military companies for the last two decades of the past century. In 1880 there was organized in the institution a ''military school,'' with the purpose ''to secure a proper development of the physical system, to promote habits of promptness, regularity, and obedience, and to encourage economy in dress.'' [1] During the session of 1886-87 the military school was reorganized into two military companies, which took the names, Mississippi College Rifles and Mississippi College Invincibles. Confederate grey was adopted as the uniform of the Rifles in commemoration of the company which went out from the college to the battle-fields in 1860, while the Invincibles wore the blue. The first officers for the two companies were as follows:

Rifles—W. S. Webb, Jr., Captain; W. A. McComb, First Lieutenant; T. C. Lowrey, Second Lieutenant.

Invincibles—V. H. Cowsert, Captain; J. C. Hardy, First Lieutenant; D. J. Williams, Second Lieutenant.

The two companies with their daily drills and occasional dress parades constituted an important phase of college life for a period of twenty years. With the advent of intercollegiate athletics the interest in the companies began to decline, and during the session of 1904-05 they were disbanded. Subsequent efforts to revive one of the companies were unsuccessful.

Continued Progress Under a New President

In the spring of 1911 President Lowrey announced his retirement from his connection with Mississippi College, in order that he might return to the head of Blue Mountain College, which was then the personal property of the Lowrey family. President Lowrey's resignation brought consternation and dismay to the friends of Mississippi College. The Board of Trustees, however, called to mind the short but efficient administration of Dr. J. W. Provine, who was still connected with the college as Pro-

[1] Catalogue of Mississippi College, 1880-81, p. 27.

fessor of Chemistry. He was for the second time elected president of the college and accepted the responsibility.

The administration of Dr. Provine, beginning in the fall of 1911, is not complete, and it shall be the task of some future historian to appraise its achievements. We shall venture, however, a brief summary of the attainments of the institution since it passed under the direction of Dr. Provine.

In November, 1911, the Mississippi Baptist Convention approved the plan of launching another campaign for a larger endowment, new buildings, and better equipment.[1] It was proposed that $200,000 should be raised among the people of the state, and the General Education Board of New York promised, if this amount should be subscribed, that the board would pay one dollar for every two dollars collected within the state.

A year later Dr. W. A. McComb, an alumnus of the college, was selected to lead the campaign, and began his work in November, 1912. Within eighteen months he had secured subscriptions to the full amount of $200,000, payable in five annual installments. Financial reverses in the state and the coming of the World War before the time for completing the payments on these subscriptions caused the loss of a large part of the amount pledged within the state, with the accompanying sacrifice of half the amount of the unpaid subscriptions which had been pledged conditionally by the General Education Board.

The results of the campaign, while not what was hoped for, were gratifying. Two new buildings were erected on the campus, the science laboratories were equipped, and the vested endowment was increased to nearly a quarter million. The first of the buildings resulting from the campaign was called Ratliff Hall in honor of Captain W. T. Ratliff, who for more than forty years was president of the Board of Trustees of Mississippi College. This building, a three-story brick dormitory, which will accommodate about one hundred students, was completed in 1913. The second building was the library building, which in addition to providing facilities for the college library contains a number of class rooms, and provides on the third floor permanent quarters for the Philomathean and Hermenian literary societies. This building is of brick and reinforced concrete, and was completed in 1914.

In 1912 Captain J. M. Crestman of Belen, Mississippi, deeded to Mississippi College 997 acres of land in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, with the proviso that the college was to retain the land

[1] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1911.

until 1925 and divide the income from it equally between the college and the Mississippi Baptist Orphanage. The estate is then to be sold and the proceeds used in the erection of a building on the college campus as a memorial to Dr. Crestman's son, who died while a student of the college.

An important change took place in the organization of the college in 1913. The Preparatory Department, which had been a part of the college from the beginning of its history, was abolished, and the Mississippi College Academy was established in its place. The Academy was under a separate faculty and was organized as a distinct institution. Three years later the Academy was discontinued, leaving only a college course of four years. For several years the institution has been offering one year of resident graduate work leading to the degree of Master of Arts.

During the past ten years the curriculum has been greatly liberalized and modernized, as new departments of instruction have been added. There are now eleven full departments of instruction, divided into three groups, as follows: Group I—Greek, Latin, Modern Languages; Group II—Christianity, Education and Psychology, English, History and Economics; Group III—Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics. The applicant for a degree is required to elect a major sequence of courses from one of these departments along the line of his personal preferences, but, in order to prevent narrow specialization, he is required also to elect minor sequences from two departments in groups other than that in which his major has been selected.

The Literary Societies

Any history of Mississippi College would be incomplete without some account of the two literary societies, which have influenced profoundly student life for three-quarters of a century.

The Philomathean Society was organized on October 16, 1846, while the institution was under the control of the Presbyterian denomination. Its first president was J. D. Ford, and its first secretary was T. N. Todd. In 1854, W. T. Ratliff, then a student of the college, realizing the need of another literary society, withdrew from the Philomathean Society, and with four other students organized the Hermenian Society. The organization was effected on April 26th, with Captain Ratliff as the first secretary and A. J. Wise as president.

The two societies continued their work until the early part of 1862, when the Philomatheans were forced to suspend on ac-

count of conditions growing out of the Civil War. The Hermenians appear to have continued their work without interruption, except for the brief period during which the college was closed just after the Civil War. The catalogue of 1870 says, "Of the two literary societies, the Hermenian is in active operation and the Philomathean will be reorganized next session." Subsequent catalogues indicate that this plan was carried into execution.

From early times the two societies have published a magazine or college paper. The first of these publications made its initial appearance during the session of 1870-71, and was called *The Mississippi College Star.*[1] The last reference to *The Star* is found in the catalogue of the college in 1873, in an appeal to the friends of the societies to aid in increasing the circulation of the paper. By 1883 the societies had come down to earth for the name of their luminary, and were publishing *The Electric Light.*[2] J. H. Anderson for the Hermenians and J. P. Williams for the Philomatheans were the editors. During the session of 1888-89 *The Mississippi College Magazine* began its long career as the publication of the two societies, with F. L. Riley of the Hermenian Society as editor-in-chief. This publication was continued with brief interruptions until 1916, when it was supplanted by the weekly paper, *The Mississippi Collegian.*

The two societies are justly proud of their long history as nurseries of oratory. Every autumn they hold their joint meeting, known as "the fall orations," in which each society is represented by a chosen orator. This custom originated in 1876.[3] Each society also celebrates annually its anniversary with an oratorical fête, a custom dating back to 1855 in the Hermenian Society and earlier in the Philomathean Society.[4]

Becomes Member of the Southern Association

For a number of years Mississippi College has desired membership in the standardizing association known as the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, but the endowment was insufficient to meet the high standard of that organization. The school, for several years past, has been meeting these standards one by one, until in 1922 she was lacking only in the matter of endowment.

[1] Mississippi College Catalogue, 1871-72.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1883-84.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1876-77.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1855-56.

At the Mississippi Baptist Convention at Grenada in November, 1922, the Mississippi Baptist Education Commission recommended that the Convention issue bonds for the amount of $250,000 and add this amount to the endowment of Mississippi College. The recommendation was adopted without a dissenting vote, and within thirty days the bonds had been sold, and the proceeds added to the endowment fund.[1] The General Education Board of New York thereupon donated $125,000 more to the same fund, thus bringing the total endowment of the college from $250,000 to $625,000.

When the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools met in New Orleans in December, 1922, Mississippi College was admitted to full membership, thus fully establishing the institution in its claims of doing standard scholastic work.

APPENDIX

Administration and Faculties

TABLE I. ADMINISTRATION

Presidents of Board of Trustees

Rev. Benjamin Whitfield	1850-1854
Dr. W. L. Barbour	1854-1857
W. Jordan Denson	1857-1860
Rev. Benjamin Whitfield	1860-1872
Captain W. T. Ratliff	1872-1917
Dr. B. W. Griffith	1917-

Presidents of the College

I. N. Urner	
Principal	1850-1854
President pro tem.	1854-1859
President	1859-1867
Rev. Walter Hillman, LL.D.	1867-1873
Rev. W. S. Webb, D.D.	1873-1891
Rev. R. A. Venable, D.D.	1891-1895
J. W. Provine, Ph.D.	
Chairman	1895-1897
President	1897-1898
Rev. W. T. Lowrey, LL.D.	1898-1911
J. W. Provine, Ph.D., LL.D.	1911-

TABLE II. HEADS OF CLASSICAL DEPARTMENTS

Department of Greek and Latin

J. M. Ellis, A.B.	1852-1855
Rev. A. S. Worrell, A.B.	1855-1856
E. A. Steed, A.M.	1856-1861
Preston D. Jones, A.B.	1869-1871
P. M. Woodman, A.B.	1871-1872
Rev. Theodore Whitfield, A.M.	1872-1873

[1] Minutes Mississippi Baptist Convention, 1922.

Department of Greek

J. D. Coleman, A.M..... 1873-77
H. C. Timberlake, A.M..... 1877-79
Rev. Geo. Wharton, A.M.. 1879-84

Department of Latin

H. C. Timberlake 1873-83
Rev. A. V. Rowe, A.M..... 1883-84

Department of Ancient Languages

Rev. A. V. Rowe, A.M. 1884-1886
Rev. George Wharton, A.M. 1886-1889
S. C. Mitchell, A.M. 1889-1890

Department of Greek

S. C. Mitchell, A.M. 1890-91
R. A. Venable, D.D. 1891-95
F. W. Pickel, M.S. 1895-97
J. E. Warner, A.M. 1897-98
Murray Latimer, A.M..... 1898-

Department of Latin

A. J. Aven, LL.D. 1890-

TABLE III. HEADS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

F. S. Bradford, A.B. 1853-1854
Walter Hillman, A.M. 1854-1856
DeWitt C. Williams, A.M. 1856-1861
M. T. Martin, A.M. 1870-1878
P. H. Eager, A.M. 1878-1882
J. G. Deupree, A.M., LL.D. 1882-1883
A. R. Howze 1883-1884
J. G. Deupree, A.M., LL.D. 1884-1892
T. J. Woofter, A.M. 1892-1893
J. M. Sharp, A.B. 1893-1918
J. R. Hitt, A.B. 1918-

TABLE IV. HEADS OF SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS

Department of Physical Science

I. N. Urner 1850-1853

Department of Natural Sciences

Benj. Whitfield, A.M., M.D. 1870-1882
and 1883-1888
J. F. Sellers, A.B. 1888-1893
J. W. Provine, Ph.D. 1893-1913

Department of Chemistry

J. W. Provine, Ph.D. 1913-
A. E. Wood, M.S. 1920-

Department of Biology and Geology

Edgar Godbold, B.S. 1907-12
W. B. Elder, A.B. 1912-13
C. C. Lemon, A.M. 1913-16
H. C. May, Ph.D. 1919-20
M. P. Somes, M.S. 1920-22
W. F. Clayton, Ph.D. 1922-

Department of Physics

D. M. Nelson, M.S. 1913-21
L. J. Lewis, Ph.D. 1921-

TABLE V. HEADS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

R. M. Leavell, A.M.	1882-1889
A. J. Aven, A.M.	1889-1890
R. M. Leavell, A.M., LL.D.	1890-1891
O. M. Johnston, A.M.	1891-1893
J. G. Deupree, LL.D.	1893-1895
P. H. Eager, A. M.	1895-1918
W. H. Weathersby, A.M.	1918-1919
W. H. Coleman, A.M.	1919-1920
Gordon Hurlbutt, A.M., Th.D.	1920-1921
W. F. DeMoss, A.M., Ph.D.	1921-

TABLE VI. HEADS OF COLLEGE DEPARTMENTS NOT INCLUDED IN PREVIOUS TABLES

History and Economics

C. H. Brough, Ph.D.	1898-1901
G. H. Brunson, Ph.D.	1901-1910
J. T. Wallace, A.M.	1910-

Christianity (Formerly Department of Bible)

H. F. Sproles, D.D.	1905-1912
P. I. Lipsey, Th.M., D.D.	1912-1913
H. W. Provence, Th.D.	1913-1914
C. C. Pugh, D.D.	1914-1915
M. O. Patterson, Th.D.	1915-

Modern Languages

John L. Johnson, A.M.	1906-1912
G. D. Davidson, Ph.D.	1912-1913
Elmer L. Ford, A.M.	1920-

Education and Psychology

Wm. H. Weathersby, Ph.D.	1914-

Physical Education

Frank G. Anderson, A.M.	1919-1920
Stanley L. Robinson, A.B.	1920-

TABLE VII. PRINCIPALS OF THE PREPARATORY DEPARTMENT AND THE ACADEMY

I. Preparatory Department

I. N. Urner	1850-1852
S. S. Granberry, M.A.	1852-1861
M. T. Martin	1869-1870
P. M. Woodman, A.B.	1870-1871
H. C. Timberlake, A.M.	1871-1873
D. S. Burch, A.M.	1873-1877
I. A. Hailey, A.B.	1877-1878
J. C. Stevens	1878-1879
E. A. Pace	1879-1880
T. K. Roby	1880-1882
J. M. Sharp, A.B.	1882-1890
O. M. Johnstone, A.B.	1890-1891
J. L. Logan, A.M.	1891-1900
W. N. Taylor, B.S.	1900-1906

P. W. Berry, A.M. 1906-1907
W. L. Abbott, B.S. 1907-1908
J. T. Wallace, A.M. 1900-1910
J. L. Roberts, A.B. 1910-1911
D. M. Nelson, A.M. 1911-1913

II. Mississippi College Academy

W. H. Weathersby, A.M. 1913-1915
W. N. Taylor, B.S. 1915-1916

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II. Secondary Sources

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PREFACE

BEFORE his death Mr. Chambers made two copies of his Journal: one he gave to Dr. Dunbar Rowland of the Department of Archives and History of the State of Mississippi; the other was given to the author's family. In connection with the work of the Department of History of the Mississippi Woman's College, the copy belonging to the family was submitted as being of historical interest. Through the kind interest of Dr. Rowland, a comparison of the two Journals was made possible and it was found that the two manuscripts were almost identical. The one belonging to Dr. Rowland was more complete and clear. In preparing the Journal for publication this copy was followed. It has been the editor's purpose to make an exact copy, as far as possible, of the manuscript. In a few instances, omissions were made; but in no case were the omitted statements of any historical value. They were of purely personal interest. It was found necessary and appropriate to make very few notes because of the clearness and completeness of the author's work.

The editor wishes to acknowledge with grateful appreciation her indebtedness to Miss Maxine Kumper, who so efficiently assisted with the copying; to her mother whose kind advice was helpful; and to her teacher, Dr. N. B. Bond, without whose patient and valuable aid and advice the work would have been impossible.

RUTH POLK.

WILLIAM PITT CHAMBERS

William Pitt Chambers was the son of John Chambers and Mercer Welch, and was born in Covington County, Mississippi, December 14, 1839. He was of Scotch descent.

His educational advantages were limited, but his habits were studious and at the age of twenty he began to teach school, which work he left to enter the Army of the Confederacy. A year after his return from the War, he was married to Sarah Robertson of Covington County. He taught school for several years in Alabama, later moving to Hattiesburg, Mississippi, where he was employed as deputy in the office of the Chancery Clerk of Forrest County.

He was a devoted member of the Camp of United Confederate Veterans at that place, in which he served as Adjutant until his death in 1916.

He wrote many stories, poems, essays, and Sunday-school notes which were published in current periodicals.

PREFACE

During the War for Southern Independence, or, as it is sometimes called, the "Civil War," the writer of these pages served in the army of the Confederate States. While engaged in this service, he kept at first a diary, and then a journal, in which the principal events of each day were noted, so far as his environments would permit.

At the final surrender of the Confederate armies, he had several hundred pages of MS., much of it in a hardly legible form, and none of it fit for other eyes than his own.

After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, a revision of these old records is attempted. The infirmities of age and the inroads of disease upon his system admonish the writer that if he does the work at all, he must do it quickly.

Much of the original will be omitted, while in other cases the meager notes taken by the wayside will be filled in, so far as memory will permit, with the proper incidents.

No claim is made that this is a history of any movement of the army, only so far as it concerns the personal narrative of the writer. Nor is he vain enough to consider that his career as a soldier is more worthy of record than that of hundreds of thousands of others; but humble as it is, he does think it may afford a little help to him who would write a full history of the unfortunate struggle.

To such, and to my children, this volume is dedicated, praying that God's blessing may rest upon it.

Signed, W. P. Chambers.

Kinterbish, Ala., Aug., 1891.

INTRODUCTION

When the war between the States began there was great resentment on the part of the Southern people against the unjust attitude of the North. So impatient were many to express their resentment that military companies were organized before a single state had passed an ordinance of Secession. On the 9th day of January, 1861, Mississippi seceded from the Union, to be followed in a few days by Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, as she had already been preceded by South Carolina.

Covington County, in which the writer then lived, is in the Southeastern part of the State of Mississippi, and at that time was remote from railroad and telegraph facilities. For some time a military organization had existed in that county known as the "Covington Fencibles." It had been organized under a State law, and was armed and equipped by the State.

Early in the spring of 1861, a reorganization of this company took place. The ranks were filled, new officers elected and the service of the company was tendered to both the State and Confederate authorities. After repeated failures to be in time, the tender was at last accepted and the Company received marching orders. It went into Camp of Instruction at Brookhaven, Miss., in August, 1861. Hugh R. McLaurin was Captain, and it subsequently became Co. F, 27th Reg't of Miss. Infantry Volunteers.

Prior to this, however, another company called the "Harvey Desperadoes" had been organized, with John W. Harvey as Captain. The writer of these pages was connected with that Company. Our services not being accepted the Company disbanded, most of its members going into other commands.

On the 22nd day of February, 1862, a third Company was organized at Williamsburg, Miss., with T. D. Magee, Capt., Geo. C. Buchanan, 1st Lt., Archy Fairly, 2nd Lt. and Jas. A. Graham, Jr., 2nd Lt.; Joseph F. Duckworth was made Orderly Sergeant. On the same day, it was "mustered in" as State Troops for a period of twelve months, by Col. Vernon L. Ferrell of the Staff of Governor.

Some weeks intervened before the reception of marching

orders, and it was near the last of March when the start was made.

In this Company were a larger proportion of middle-aged men, and men with families, than in either of those that had preceded it. Its subsequent history may be found in the following pages.

MY JOURNAL

1862

March 25th.—This morning I left the home of my parents to become a unit in the army of the South. The thought that I may never return has been with me all day, depressing my spirits to some extent.

Late last afternoon, as the twilight came on, I walked to the spot where stood the house, in which I was born and where my brother and I played in our happy childhood. That brother now sleeps in a newly made soldier's grave, the house is gone, and the soil has been turned by the plow; but the same skies and the same stars were there that first caught my infant gaze.

I left Williamsburg, Miss., about one o'clock P. M. today, in company with about a dozen others, belonging to the "Covington Rebels," a Company of Infantry, commanded by T. D. Magee. We go as State troops, were mustered in for twelve months, and will rendevous at Meridian, Miss. We will take the cars at Brandon.

We have marched about seven miles and are encamped in the pine woods one mile east of Dry Creek. We are commanded by Sargent Duckworth and some of the squad are drinking and quite noisy.

26th.—After an early start this morning, we arrived at the "Widow Magee's," about ten o'clock A. M., where we met all the Company who will go at this time. Another squad, under Lt. Graham will start next Saturday.

A fine dinner was prepared at this place, to which we did ample justice, and after which we marched away, accompanied by our Capt. and 1st and 2nd Lts. Many sweet faces of old Covington's fair daughters bade us a tearful farewell. Will they ever see their loved ones again? We are encamped tonight near Old Hickory P.O. in Simpson County. There are sixty-five men in the Company.

27th.—We left Camp in fine spirits this morning, and arrived at the hamlet of Fayette Hill at about ten o'clock A.M., where we halted about three hours. Four miles further we crossed Strong River, and are encamped in the pine woods, at a place known as "Swor's Springs," in Rankin County and ten miles from Fayette Hill.

I am somewhat unwell and cannot sleep. I am thinking of those who are praying tonight for my salvation. May their prayers be answered, and may it be my lot to die the death of the righteous.

28th.—Starting early this morning, we marched about two miles and arrived at Cato, after crossing Campbell's Creek. This is a small village, owing it's existence to, perhaps, some Sulphur Springs. There has been an Academy of some local note here, but no school is open now.

Some six or eight miles further we crossed a range of high hills, locally known as the "Rocky Mountains." The rocks seem to be gray sandstone and the hills are covered with short leafed pine, oak and hickory. After the hills, the soil changed and we crossed the "Limestone Belt." Several fine plantations and handsome residences, as well as large areas of uncultivated land lay along the route.

We arrived at Brandon at 3:30 P.M. While this little city can boast of some nice buildings, I must confess I was somewhat disappointed in the place. There is a good court house (of wood) with several brick buildings near it. Most of trade seems to be supplying the volunteers with camp outfits. About 5 o'clock we started to the Depot, one and a half miles distant. Some of the men were drunk, and we were inclined to fight as we left the city. At this place we met Lt. Joel R. Baugh of the "Covington Fencibles."

We are camped about 200 yards from the Depot and at 9 o'clock P.M. Capt. Magee left for Jackson. We may not move until Monday.

29th.—Remained in camp today, returning to the city in the afternoon to purchase some articles omitted yesterday.

We formed a mess, consisting of Stephen Robertson, J. V. Reddock, J. R. Powers, Thos. J. H. and Lotan Sullivan, J. T. Howell and myself, reserving a place for Z. A. Eastering. * * * *

I spent an hour in the "City of the Dead" and copied some of the inscriptions found there. There are some fine tombstones, evidencing taste, skill and affluence.

Learning that some sick soldiers were to come down on the train tonight, Stephen Robertson and I went to the depot after supper to await their coming. While we waited, we spoke much of the changes one year had wrought in our lives, and of the friends and relatives who had passed away in that time.

No soldiers came tonight. We will probably leave here in the morning.

30th.—Today is Sunday, but it has been a busy day to us all.

We boarded the train at 7:30 o'clock this morning. I was seated at a window and as the train was moving away, a beautiful young lady, standing near the track, handed me a small Confederate flag. To this was fastened a slip of paper, on which was penciled: "Compliments of Anna Collier to a Soldier. This represents Mississippi. Hurrah for the Confederacy and Davis! May an ever watchful eye be over thee! Anna Collier. Near Brandon."

This was my first ride on the train. I sat by the window and gazed outside the whole trip. We were frequently cheered by persons along the road, and when ladies cheered, I waved my little flag.

The Stations, as I remember them, are; Pelahatchie, in Rankin County, Morton and Forest in Scott County, Lake, Newton and Hickory in Newton County, Chunkey near the line, and Tunnel Hill in Lauderdale County. None of these were very populous towns, or, seemingly of much commercial importance. Just after passing the last named place, we went through a tunnel, several hundred feet in length. The sudden transition, from daylight to darkness, produced a novel sensation to me.

At 1:30 o'clock P.M., we arrived at our destination—Meridian, Miss. We found the platform and the vicinity thronged with soldiers, while on every side, barrels of molasses and other Government Stores were piled in great confusion. At 3:30 we came to this spot, about 350 yards west of the depot and erected our tents.

I expected to find a "town" at Meridian, but was sadly disappointed. In fact, there is not a fine building in the place, no stores and no streets. Our camp is on a gentle elevation, at the edge of the woods. To the East and South is a dark blue range of hills, with two or three higher peaks. Some day I hope to visit those hills and climb those peaks.

Thus ends my first Sunday in Camp. It has been spiritually unimproved.

31st.—Remained in Camp, completing yesterday's work. In afternoon, I wrote letters, one to Miss Collier, one to father and one to W. C. Robertson, Co. "I," 7th Reg't. (Miss) at Corinth, Miss. Lts. Buchanan and Fairly left for Mobile this afternoon.

We find one Regiment—the 36th—Col. Brown—encamped near the junction of the railroads above town. A few hundred yards back of us are four or five other Companies, and about 150 yards to the right are the "Rankin Farmers."—W. K. Easterlin, Capt.

It is uncertain we can form a Regiment.

April 1st.—Marking and numbering our tents today exempted me from any other duty. For the first time "drilling" was attempted.

Vegetation is much further advanced than when I left home. *I love the trees and the flowers.*

2nd.—Today we had "squad drill," under the most experienced men in our Company. At one o'clock P.M. Lt. Graham and 18 more men came in. There are about ten others yet to come in. Lts. Buchanan and Fairley returned from Mobile about 4:30 P.M., having nice uniforms and swords.

At 5 o'clock P.M. I went to see the "dress parade" of the 36th. Reg't. Saw some nice looking ladies, who had gone there for the same purpose as myself.

Lotan Sullivan is sick and may have measles.

Tonight we sang some old Songs that evoked memories more pregnant with pain than pleasure.

3rd.—Somewhat rainy. We were mustered into the Confederate service, at 1 o'clock P.M. today. The Adjutant of the 36th Reg't. drilled us some in the forenoon, and Serg't. Clarke of the "Rankin Farmers" drilled us in the afternoon.

I saw a coffin being taken to one of the Companies in our rear this afternoon. Some soldier died away from home and most likely without the gentle ministrations of a mother or a sister.

News from home informs me that J. C. Reddock is dead. He leaves a helpless family.

It is raining tonight.

—4th.—The forenoon was "wash day." Tried "squad" drill again this afternoon. I guess we are an awkward lot, both men and officers.

It is supposed a battle is being fought near Corinth, Miss. The enemy is said to be within a few miles of that place and our forces have gone to meet him; hence, tomorrow's news is awaited with anxiety.

Capt. Magee started to Jackson this evening.

Wrote letters home, as Lotan Sullivan (whose disease turned out to be chicken-pox) will start home on furlough tomorrow in company with B. F. Speed.

—5th.—Drilled today. The news from Corinth is meagre and unsatisfactory. Rumors have been rife for two or three days, respecting operations near New Orleans; but nothing definite seems to be known.

Tonight, Reddock and I stayed with a relative of his,—Mr. Richard Mc Lemore, who lives about 2½ miles east of town. Mr.

Mc Lemore is an elderly man, in easy circumstances and has a pleasant family.

After lying down at night, I contrasted my surroundings with that of thousands of others enlisted in the same cause as myself, who were deprived of both food and shelter and exposed to the perils of the battlefield.

I attended preaching at the Baptist Church today; but am ashamed to say that I slept during most of the service. Willis Williams conducted the exercises. He expects to go to the front in a few days.

In last Sunday's entry, I omitted to state that I heard S. R. Bankston, a Protestant Methodist, preach on "Prayer," at night. It is said that he is a Candidate for Chaplin in our Reg't when we form one.

—6th.—Sunday again. Did not attend preaching because it was too late to do so when we returned from Mr. McLemore's. Have read some in "Nelson on Infidelity,"—a book borrowed from my host of last night and some in the New Testament.

I went to the Camp of the 36th Reg't. to call on a Mr. Speed, this afternoon. Found a young man of intelligence. * * * * Just before my arrival, a young man in one of the companies, who had left home in disobedience to his parent's commands, had suddenly died.

Capt. Magee returned from Jackson this afternoon, having secured no equipment except canteens.

—7th.—Drilled today. We are improving a little. I talked with a Staff officer, who says that 2000 wounded soldiers are expected at Columbus, Miss., tomorrow and that 175 of the sick at Corinth were brought to Lauderdale Springs today. A terrible battle is evidently on hand and I impatiently long to be in it. Lt. A. Fairley and a Dr. McInnis, who is with our Co., will start at midnight for the scene of action.

—8th.—Intense excitement today. It was raining and we drilled none at all. Read some. Received a pleasant letter from Miss Collier, which I answered immediately.

Reports of a great battle are coming in. It was rumored that 2000 Federal prisoners would pass here on the morning train. An excited crowd, including many ladies, thronged the depot, long before six o'clock, in the midst of drenching rain. The prisoners did not come, however. Several persons from Simpson Co., Miss., among them some of Capt. Magee's relatives, are in our Camp tonight, on their way to Corinth.

Going to the depot about ten o'clock, I found a party of gentlemen from Laurence Co., on their way to Virginia. They

said that a telegram had been received at Brookhaven, Miss., from Gordonsville, Va., stating that in an engagement near that place, all but 9 of the "Laurence Rifles" (13th Miss. Reg't.) were killed or wounded.

As the twelve o'clock train came up, scene beggars description. There were still no prisoners, but many were aboard the train who claimed to have been in the fight. One old gentleman, from Scott County, had a coffin, containing the body of his son, who fell in the fight of Sunday.

Multitudinous and contradictory reports of the operations of the armies are heard. It is certain, however, that a desperate battle was fought Sunday and Monday, somewhere between Corinth and the Tennessee River. Gen. Albert Sydney Johnston is killed, and rumor has it that the Federal General Buell is also dead. Gen. Prentiss of the Federal army is a prisoner.

—9th.—A great change in the atmosphere, it now being quite cool. We have drilled again today. We were also "inspected" by the medical authorities, and four of the Co. were discharged, as unfit for military service. Seven others, however, came in.

—10th.—This afternoon, for the first time, we essayed "Company Drill." Several of the boys are sick.

About 200 prisoners, mostly from Ohio, came down on the six o'clock train this morning. They were fine looking men and seemed to be gentlemen. They were captured in Sunday's fight. Nearly every train brings wounded men, one of whom was Gen. Chas. Clarke of this State.

It was thought an arrangement had been effected by which the troops were to receive the telegraphic dispatches every night, but it is probably an abortion, so far as the enlisted men are concerned.

—11th.—Today was "set apart" as a day of "washing and rest." As I had already performed that necessary task, I had leisure to visit the high hills already spoken of.

Crossing Sowashee Creek, a beautiful stream of water, I soon reached the foot of the hills. A Sabbath like stillness pervaded the scene, and the birds made the air vocal with their songs.

Ascending the rugged side, I at last stood on the summit of the loftiest elevation in sight, and the scene before me amply repaid me for my trip. Some two miles North of me lay the town of Meridian, it's scattered cottages contrasting with the dark green background, while the white tents of the soldiers appeared like tombstones in some "City of the Dead." Beyond, the pine forests seemed to grow in terraces till the last one literally blended with the smiling valley of the creek with its

myriads of quivering leaves, and to my ears was borne the sweet song of the birds, as they chanted their vernal hymn of gladness.

We drilled some in the afternoon, but were stopped by the rain.

I learned that a Schoolmate, Wm. M. Reddock, was killed early in the engagement of "Shiloh," Sunday morning. None other of my personal friends were hurt.

—12th.—Rather a busy day. A heavy rain and wind storm last night, caused some inconvenience, and I was thoroughly drenched while trying to keep our tent from blowing down.

A large detachment—said to be 2300 in number—of Federal prisoners passed here today from Jackson. Among them were over 100 commissioned officers, including Gen. Prentiss and staff and several regimental commanders. They were a fine looking body of men, Gen. Prentiss, of course, being the most observed. Aside from his rank, he would have, perhaps, attracted notice in any crowd. The common soldiers did not impress me so favorably as those that passed a few days ago.

It is said the 36th Reg't. has marching orders, and that we will at once form a Battalion.

Z. A. Easterling came in today, bringing me letters from home; Stephen Robertson started home on furlough.

13th.—Lt. Fairley returned from Corinth, last night and this A.M. handed me letters from W. C. Robertson.

Attended preaching at the Presbyterian Church, I did not learn the preacher's name. It was a good sermon based on the 20th Psalm, and the central idea was that God would answer prayer offered in behalf of a nation as readily as he would those offered in behalf of individuals.

The 36th Reg't was armed this afternoon with old Western rifles, made larger in the bore. It is now said we will organize next Tuesday. Lt. J. M. Sublett of the "Yazoo Pickets" is a candidate for Major.

Night comes and ends my third Sunday in Camp.

—14th.—Two more companies arrived last night. They are the "Gaines Invincibles," Capt. Taylor, and the "Jeff Davis Rebels" Capt. Jones, and are from Wayne and Yazoo counties respectively. They have seen some service, are from New Orleans to aid in the organization of the New Battalion. The organization has been postponed till next Saturday, as by the arrival of these two companies, we will be entitled to a Lt. Col.

Had an ambrotype likeness of myself made today by Mr. Lipscomb.

Every train from the North carries wounded men. Gen. Glad-

den's corpse passed yesterday. Gen. Buell, reported killed at Shiloh, is probably not dead.

So many and such contradictory reports reach us concerning army operation that the reliability and possibly the interest of these pages will be enhanced by giving them no place at all.

—15th.—Drilled today, though several of the boys are ill and I am far from well. Our guns were appraised today, the Government intending to purchase them. (I omitted to mention, that before leaving home we armed ourselves with double-barreled shot guns.)

The 36th Reg't. left for Corinth at six o'clock P.M. today. One of the Companies was from this County, and many of their families were present when they left. It is hard to sever the ties of home; but

> "Ne'er be it said, in future years,
> 'Mid bursting sighs and burning tears,"

that *one* Son of the South faltered in the discharge of duty.

Sang a few old songs tonight.

—16th.—Too unwell to drill. Had a letter from J. N. Easterling, Co. "I," 7th Miss. Reg't. We were paid for our guns today.

Have read a great deal, and written some.

—17th.—Kept my bed. Reddock and Sullivan both sick,—the former with the chicken-pox. I have headache, sore throat, high fever and a severe cough. Am taking medicine.

—18th.—Felt better today. No drilling as Friday is washday. Great electioneering going on, Capt. Easterling and Maj. Balfour, an outsider, are aspirants for Lt. Col. and Capt. Jones for Major.

Some excitement in Camp over the reported passage of a "Conscript Law," by the Congress of the Confederate States.

Saw a negro whipped for the first time in my life, this afternoon. It was a painful sight. The negro had run away.

—19th.—No drilling today. The election came off at 10 o'clock A.M.—J. W. Balfour was elected Lt. Col., and J. W. Jones of the "Jeff Davis Rebels" was elected Major. Two of the Companies present refused to go into the election. The new Lt. Col. celebrated his election by "treating" the men of each company to a gallon or two of whiskey, consequently there is considerable noise in the air.

Serg't. Duckworth, and Howell of our mess, start home tonight. B. F. Speed returned, bringing letters from home.

—20th.—Unwell again. Weather inclement. Kept my bed. Another Sunday is gone.

—21st.—Felt somewhat better. Three cases of measles have developed in Camp. The patients were removed to an unoccupied house, a few hundred yards away.

—22nd.—Still unwell. Have finished reading "Nelson on Infidelity" and find it a powerful argument in favor of revelation.

Robertson returned this afternoon, bringing letters from home.

—23rd.—I had a letter this morning from Samuel Welch, a relative, and a member of Co. "F," 27th Miss. Reg't. at Pensacola, Fla.

Formed a battalion encampment on the ground occupied by the "Rankin Farmers." The "makeup" of our Battalion is as follows: Co. "A," "Gaines Invincibles," Capt. Angus Taylor, from Wayne County, Co. "B," "Covington Rebels," with Capt. T. D. Magee, from Covington County, and Co. "E," "Jeff Davis Rebels," Capt. J. B. Hart, from Yazoo and Warren Counties. Also Co. "C," "Yazoo Pickets," Capt. J. C. Clarke, from Yazoo County, and Co. "D," "Rankin Farmers," Capt. W. K. Easterling from Rankin County. By this arrangement, we occupy the extreme left, Co. "E" being our nearest neighbors.

Col. Balfour is absent, Major Jones is in command and Lt. Sublett of Co. "C" is acting Adjutant.

—24th.—"Camp guards" were mounted for the first time today. I am still unfit for duty. The Company has drilled some.

—25th.—Saw several pieces of Artillery and large quantities of ammunition on the trains today; also a horse belonging to Gen. Beauregard. The significance of this was made plain, when, later in the day, it was rumored that New Orleans had fallen into the enemy's hands.

A serious accident occured on the M. and O. R. R. eight miles below here this morning, by which six soldiers were killed, and about 15 others seriously injured.

Am still unwell. Heavy rain in the afternoon. L. Sullivan returned today.

26th.—Severe headache all day. No drilling since morning. Several of the Co. will start home tonight, among them Reddock and Powers of our Mess. T. J. H. Sullivan is quite sick.

Another Company, the "Raleigh Rangers" of Smith County, Capt. Mc Alpine in command, arrived today. They came here from Grenada, Miss., and we are told that other companies are coming.

27th.—Some better. Attended preaching at the Methodist Church, did not learn the preacher's name. After reading the 24th chap. of Matt., he preached from 1 Peter, 4: 17 and 18.

"For the time is come that Judgement must begin at the house of God; and if it begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God? And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?"

It was a forceful discourse that drew tears from many eyes. Two or three other cases of measles in our Company, and other sickness beside.

May 10th.—Continued ill health and want of liesure must be my excuse for changing the plan of keeping this Journal. Nearly two weeks have elapsed since I wrote here last.

Tuesday 29th, G. W. Michel, a former schoolmate of mine, came into our tent. He is a member of Co. F, 27th Miss. Reg't. and in company with Lt. Baugh, was on his way to his command. He stayed all day and at night, he, Robertson, Easterling and I had a long conversation in an empty coach. I predicted that we four would never meet again. Was quite unwell, next day, but thanks to the skill of Dr. John Milloy (a private in our Co.) I soon became better.

On 3rd. inst., a member of Mc Alpine's Co. died of mumps, after a few hours' illness. Next day, another soldier, a member of the 36th Reg't., who was left here sick, died of Typhoid Fever.

Monday, May 5th, our Co. sustained it's first loss by death. W. W. Lee, died of inflamation of the lungs, a result of measles. Our Battalion accorded a soldier's funeral to the man who died Sunday and also to Young Lee. I was too unwell to attend the burials. May the turf rest lightly on their graves.

Have received and written numerous letters, among those received was one from Miss. Collier.

T. E. Collins has pneumonia, and Easterling has had a light attack of measles.

We will probably reënlist and reorganize in a few days. It is thought we will likely be sent to Vicksburg, Miss.

Last Sunday, I attended preaching, morning and afternoon. W. C. Emerson, a Presbyterian was the preacher. The afternoon discourse was against swearing.

Several companies have come in, and one from Jasper Co. has Joe Anderson, a cousin of mine, as a private, and my old school-teacher, J. F. Thompson, as Orderly Serg't. A new Reg't will probably be formed.

As several recruits are coming to our Co., several of whom will wish to mess with us, we have secured another tent, and Robertson, Reddock, Easterling and I will leave our old quarters at No. 6 and set up a new mess.

During my illness, (I am now on duty) I read Col. Claiborne's Life of Gen. Sam. Dale, who was buried at Daleville in this (Lauderdale) County. I also read many entertaining and instructive articles in the *Harper's* Magazines. Thus I end this entry and weeks may elapse before I write again.

June 1st.—Well, here's a gap of three weeks to fill up. On Tuesday 13th inst. Easterling started home on sick furlough. On Wednesday 14th we enlisted "for the war," and reëlected our officers, with the exception of Archy Fairley, who was supplanted by M. M. Lott. * * * *

As Dr. Crawford and Warren Blackwell, members of our Co. were going home, I resolved to go with them. Our train was due at midnight but did not arrive till about 6:30 o'clock next morning.

Soon after starting, I learned that Claiborne E. and Drury A. Bynum, cousins of mine, were on the train. Seeking them out, I found that they, too, were soldiers and on their way to their father's home in Clarke Co. from their Camp at Columbus.

Between Meridian and Desota are three intervening Stations: Oaktibbe, in Lauderdale Co. and Enterprise and Quitman in Clarke Co. Enterprise was once the head of navigation on the Chickasahay River, and is a beautiful town. The River, which is spanned by a covered wooden bridge, divides the town into two parts, the newer or the railroad town being on the Eastern side. Quitman is the County seat, but the town is not visible from the Station. My Cousins left the train, at this place.

We arrived at Desota about 10 o'clock A.M., and having nearly sixty miles to walk, we did not tarry long. We passed several nice country places, among them the residences of Mr. Eckford and Dr. Nixon. We stopped overnight three miles East of Claiborne with Mr. Morrison, who treated us very kindly. Williamson and Faler of the "Fencibles" were there, conveying home for burial, the body of Williamson's brother who had lost his life in a R.R. collision.

Long before daylight, we were again on our way. Near Claiborne we met George, Franklin, and John Robertson on their way to our Co. From them I received a package of letters, and I arrived at my father's home about sunset, Friday, May 16th.

Early on the following Thursday, (May 22nd) I started on my return to Camp, accompanied by James Maxey, who was to take my horse back after one day's travel. Dining with my sister, Mrs. Knight, we spent the night with Mr. J. S. Gandy, near Claiborne, where we were kindly cared for.

At an early hour next morning, I was on the road, "afoot and alone," and indulging, (as I have an uncanny habit of doing) in a series of gloomy fancies. I soon passed the spot, where it is said the first white man reposes that was ever buried in Jasper County. His name was Terrell, and many of his descendants sleep around him. By 12:30 I had covered 20 miles and was at Desoto.

It was 10 P.M. before I could get a train. There was nothing at Desoto to look at; and as I had eaten nothing since morning and could get nothing there, I soon became miserably tired of the place. I gladly accepted the invitation of a fellow soldier, Alexander Reid, by name, to share his evening meal. When the train did arrive it was so crowded that I could get standing room only, and on the platform at that.

Arriving at Meridian, I was informed that the Battalion, (which had been officially designated as "6th Miss. Battalion") had gone to Vicksburg, but that a few men and tents had been left, and also that the train for Jackson would leave in half an hour. I purchased a ticket for Jackson and then "double-quicked" to the Camp. There I learned nothing more than that my mess were all gone. Returning to the train I secured a seat, a whole coach in fact, for I was the only occupant. Just before starting D. L. Wilkinson, of our Co. came in. He was starting home on sick furlough, and he said that two others of the Co. were on the train.

From Wilkinson, I learned that on Sunday, May 18th, orders were received for all the armed troops to repair to Vicksburg, at once. Our Co. was unarmed, but influenced by Lt. Lott, about 40 of them borrowed guns from other companies, and left the next morning. The rest left the next Friday.

Directly after the train started, it began to rain and I went to sleep; we arrived at Brandon about 6 o'clock A.M. and a run of twelve miles further brought us to Jackson, where we made a stop of 30 minutes. Purchasing a ticket to Vicksburg, I resumed my seat, and learned that Capt. Magee was on train. I found him and Dr. Milloy in another coach. We soon started and the Capt. pointed out the Capitol as we passed.

At Jackson the railroad crosses Pearl River. From there to Vicksburg, a distance of 45 miles, it runs through a fertile section. The Stations are Clinton, Bolton's, Edwards and Bovina, the latter being on Big Black River. Of these Stations, Clinton is of most importance, as Mississippi College and also a Female Institute are located there. After crossing Big Black the coun-

try became much broken, and by the time the train had reached the city it was very hilly indeed.

I saw for the first time the "Mighty Father of Waters," now on a big overflow. The rain was pouring down in torrents and the vicinity of the depot was desperately muddy.

I found most of the tents, clothing, bedding and so forth belonging to the Co. was at the depot in charge of Jno. Carr. After repeated failures, a wagon was procured and our equipage placed in it. Two members of another Co. and myself were sent with it to conduct it to our encampment. As neither of us had the remotest idea of its whereabouts, we had a disagreeable time finding it, but at about 5 o'clock P.M., we found it. Wet, tired, hungry and sleepy, I did not fall in love with the place. It is on a narrow steep ridge, covered with a swamp growth, and not a level place on it big enough to erect a tent.

After a slight supper, our Mess put up a tent, and we tried to sleep. Next morning I walked out on the ridge in front of our encampment. There rolled the mighty River, it's whole valley seemingly inundated; and there some two miles from where I stood, riding gracefully on the bosom of the turbid stream, were four or five vessels of the Northern fleet, I am so wofully ignorant of naval affairs that I shall call them all gun-boats, whether "ships of the line" or "revenue cutters," or whatever else they may happen to be. Their dark hulls, seemed resting on the water, their sides bristled with cannon and over each one proudly waved the "Stars and Stripes," once the "Flag of the Free," now, to us the banner of subjugation.

For miles, I could see, in the world of waters before me, the current of the mighty stream, winding like a huge serpent, and seemingly higher and of a bluer color, than the flood, through which it ran. I am told the flood is forty miles in width at this place. Of course, wide spread ruin has been wrought by the overflow, but it is less unpleasant to contemplate than the desolation around us wrought by the hand of man in prosecution of war.

I was detailed immediately after breakfast to occupy a post in a chain of pickets from the edge of the water to the Regimental Headquarters. Three others of the Co. were on the same post. Read some in "Ovid's Art of Love," a piece of licentious trash I bought at Desota, knowing nothing of it's character. Thus I spent Sunday, being relieved about 10 o'clock next day.

On the same day (Monday, 26th.) at about 5 o'clock P.M., I heard the first cannon fired, about 20 shots being thrown from the Gunboats into and toward the City. On the next day, in

the afternoon the firing was resumed, and about 125 shells were thrown into the City, and about 10 o'clock P.M., 65 more were thrown in. I understand, however, that no person was injured, and only a few houses sustaining any damage. Surely the protecting hand of the Lord has been over the people.

On Wednesday, 28th, the enemy began to bombard our Camp, one shell exploded in close proximity to our quarters. I confess I was uneasy and nervous, in fact was badly demoralized, as I beheld the great puffs of smoke from the guns, heard the horrid screaming of the shells, their deafening detonations when they exploded, and beheld the havoc they wrought. One feels utterly defenseless, unless there is a chance to strike back, which in this case, is out of the question.

On Thursday, 29th, our Co. was detailed as pickets, and we took our station at the water's edge about 4 o'clock P.M. Next day the bombardment was resumed, most of the shells falling in and near the Camp and that of the 26th and 27th La. Reg'ts, whose camp was a few hundred yards above us on the main ridge. At 4 P.M., as we were being relieved by Co. "C," a shell exploded at one of the posts completely covering three of the Co. and the relieving detail in dirt, but fortunately injuring no one.

Yesterday, (Saturday 31st) I procured a pass and in company with J. S. Robertson, visited the City. Our Battalion is camped about 4½ miles below the City, on a tongue of land known as "Smede's Point" (I believe it belongs to Hon. Wm. C. Smedes). On one side is the River and on the other, a bayou now a great lake of back water. On this point is stationed a detachment of Wither's Light Artillery, and I suppose we are here to support it. It is thought the enemy designs landing a force below the City, and on topographical reasons, he is most likely to attempt on this point. Hence we occupy the post of honor, as well as the post of danger. There are troops at intervals all the way to Warrenton, 12 miles below Vicksburg, and near the City are some heavy guns in position, while new batteries are being erected.

A good story is told at the expense of Gov. Pettus. Learning, that as the Federal Gunboats were coming up the River, he hurried to Vicksburg and as soon as they came to anchor, five miles below the city, he sent a flag of truce, demanding the *unconditional surrender* of the fleet. It is said that he received a politely worded response of, "If you want them, come and get them." They are still there. But at this rate, it will take me a long time to get to the city with my pass.

To me there was much that was novel and interesting, in this

visit. The City itself is a study. It is built on a series of steep hills, the Western base of which is washed by the great river. These hills, called the "Walnut Hills," are naturally very fertile, and I think are the most Northerly highlands that touch the River in Mississippi. Along these declivities the streets are located and houses are built, the side walks of one street often being on a level with or above the roofs of the houses on the next street below. The most beautiful yards and gardens I had ever seen, were here, generally arranged in terraces, with stone stairways between, and I also saw finer buildings than I had ever seen before.

The court House, on a bold eminence, is said to be the finest in the State. It has a much more imposing appearance than the Capitol at Jackson. I found it and the surrounding square occupied by soldiers, who told me I could not go up stairs.

The Methodist Church is another handsome building, but I did not go in it. A few squares more brought us to the Catholic Church, a costly pile of brick built on an eminence commanding a view of the River. Nearly all of our company are here but many of them are already sick. Our mess consists of the four already named and Geo. G., F. A. and John S. Robertson. A Brigade, called the "3d Miss.," has been formed here and is commanded by Brig. Gen. M. L. Smith. There are said to be about 6000 troops here now. It is Sunday, and the rain is falling steadily; and thus ends this entry.

July 3d, 1862.—More than a month has elapsed since my last entry, and I must make the record more brief.

Our Company was on picket June 4th and captured two deserters who were trying to reach the Federal Gunboats. Easterling came in on the 5th. Did picket duty again on the 10th. We are still without guns (those we brought from home, and purchased by the State, being unserviceable by reason of suitable cartridges) and some other companies are in the same predicament. Partly from this cause, and partly from the increasing sickness in Camp, no more whole Companies are sent on picket but regular details were made each day from all the Companies. This obviates the wholesale borrowing of guns heretofore practiced. I was on picket on the 12th and spent most of the day in reading.

On the 13th, I took the fever, many were sick in camp and several had already gone to the Hospitals, while others were applying for discharges. Franklin R. was also quite sick at

this time. Reddock returned about that time, and we received news of the death of M. J. Mitchell of the Fensibles.

On Sunday 15th I was very sick, and on the same day Stephen was also prostrated with fever. On Wednesday 18th, G. W. Atwood of our Company died in Camp of measles. On the same day Franklin R. having been discharged, started home. By him I sent letters and a part of the $50.00 bounty money I had drawn the day before. Sunday 22d Rube, a negro belonging in our Company, died of Pneumonia.

Rev. A. R. Graves, Chaplain of the 3d Miss. Reg't, preached in our camp on the 14th, 17th and 22d. Camp was shelled again on Saturday 21st as had frequently been the case before.

On Wednesday 25th some movement on the enemy's part caused several regiments to be sent to Warrenton before daylight. Though I was unfit for duty—hardly able to walk in fact—I followed on behind, and joined the command in time to assist in being shelled out of a strip of timber along the River front. Immediately after this performance, the two gunboats, which had left their anchorage the night before, returned to their former Stations, and the troops went back to camp.

As I was a licensed straggler that day, I did not reach the Camp till night, but spent the afternoon at a farm house some three miles away, where a Mr. Carter and his lovely young wife, treated me very handsomely. For two or three nights past, our camp has been shelled, making sleep somewhat uncertain.

On Thursday 26th, the enemy began a regular bombardment of the city and with short intermissions during the night, it was kept up till Saturday night. Our loss was only a few men killed and wounded. One lady, Mrs. Gramble—was killed by one of the shells. Having reported for duty, I was on guard Thursday 26th and Saturday 28th. Sunday 29th a volunteer scouting party left our battalion, early in the morning. We spent the day in tramping over recently submerged land, and, cautiously approaching the edge of the water, were admonished to *halt* by a few discharges of grape and canister from the nearest Gunboat. *We halted.*

The bombardment of the City was resumed. We have news of a great Confederate victory in Virginia. Monday 30th, I was detailed to take charge of some sick men, and see them safely aboard the train. Owing to a blockade of trains consequent upon the arrival of a large body of troops, this duty required two days for its performance. Meanwhile our pickets had been skirmishing with a detachment of the enemy that had effected a landing.

Five of the latter were killed, while our loss was one man accidentally killed.

Found W. R. Reddock—(J. V.s father) in camp on my return. Was detailed for picket duty next day, (yesterday) and am writing this just as the relief detail is approaching. There was a false alarm yesterday morning, followed by more skirmishing in which one Federal was killed and three of our men are missing. Only two of our company were reported for duty this morning except those on the picket line. We were relieved tonight by a detail from the 28th La. Reg't. The bombardment of the city kept up every day.

July 4th.—After a quiet forenoon the two Federal fleets (for several gunboats have made their appearance and are at anchor a few miles above the city) fired about 150 shots, in commemeration of Independence Day, I suppose. Alas! how it is perverted! I have just seen Gen. Smith (our Brig. Gen.) and am not favorably impressed with his appearance. Maj. Gen. Earl Van Dorn arrived some days ago and assumed command. Gen. John C. Brickenridge is here with his brigade. Other troops, I know not who nor how many, are also here.

Our Battalion is having a hard time. We are at the same place, and are positively suffering for drinking water, and our food is not suitable for sick men. We have done the Police and Picket duty of a full regiment since we came here. There are not enough well men in the Bat. to man the picket line and relieve it. Four other companies were mustered into the Battalion at Meridian, making nine in all. Of these, A. B. C. D. & E. came here at first. About May 31st Co. F from Lauderdale County, Gen. Rea, Capt., arrived in the vicinity of our camp, but has taken no part in the duties we have been performing. It is said that Co. "G," from Smith Co. Capt. Sheppard is camped about a mile from us.

Our former Adjt. J. M. Sublett, was elected Capt. of Co. "C" at Meridian, and G. W. Tiller of Co. "E," served as Adj't for about a month, when Thos. E. Williams was appointed.

Elisha Stuckey, of our Co., died at Miss. Springs Hospital this morning. Easterling and John R. have the fever. Geo. R. is very unwell.

A great deal has been said recently in regard to an early peace brought about through European intervention.

About 9 o'clock P. M. there was a slight display of fireworks on board the Federal fleet.

July 6th, 1862.—Sunday, but how unlike the Sundays at home! Am on picket again today, though quite unwell. Yes-

terday afternoon, a few shots were fired from our batteries without eliciting any response. About 9:30 o'clock P. M., however, the enemy waked up, and for about an hour he furiously bombarded our works, our guns, in turn remaining silent.

Another one of Co. is dead. Addison Brady died in Camp this morning. I took him to the city Hospital last Monday. His father came Friday to take him home, and they came to camp that the Bat. Surgeon might examine the young man. He rapidly grew worse, and today he answered the roll call of eternity. I believe he leaves a family. His father intends taking the body home for burial. A few scattering shots today.

Easterling and John R. are better, but Geo. R. is very sick with fever. Another one of our boys is going down into the dark valley. It is a wretched time. Fifty or sixty of our company are sick in hospitals. Some are sick at home. The rest are here, and of the whole number less than 10 are reported for duty.

July 7th, 1862.—Andrew J. Lott died in camp at 7 o'clock this morning. I am very, very sick. Stephen R. again has fever. They tell us we will certainly move tomorrow.

July 15th, 1862.—Several things have occurred, but I can not remember them distinctly. For I have been sick unto death.

On the morning of the 8th tents were struck for moving, and during the forenoon, all that were considered fit for duty marched away. The rest of us lay there during the day around the unmoved baggage. About sunset, the weakest ones were hauled away, and those that were able to walk at all were advised to make an early start next morning, afoot. Among this number was Stephen and I. Long before we reached our destination, which was two miles beyond the city, I became deathly sick, then delirious, and knew nothing of our arrival in camp, nor of what transpired during the next two or three days.

F. D. Turnage died in Camp on Thursday 12th, and Capt. Magee has gone home sick. They moved us again on the 14th to this place, which is in the woods near a big spring called, I think, "The Four Mile Spring." Stephen is dangerously sick and I can barely walk.

At six o'clock this morning Benj. Rogers died at the place we left yesterday. Those who saw him die say he expressed a willingness to go, and died rejoicing in hope in Christ. This afternoon we learn that Dr. John Milloy, who started home with Capt. Magee died at Brandon on the way.

Since sunrise the cannonade has been incessant.

Only three of our company are at the last encampment now; they will be brought here as soon as they are able to be moved.

July 22d, 1862.—The cannonading last Tuesday (15th) was occasioned by the passage of the Confederate Ram "Arkansas" through the Federal fleet above the city. J. M. Speed and R. C. Hathorn, both of our community, reached camp on the 16th, to see their sons, who were both away at the hospital. They bring discouraging reports of the crops.

On the 19th Stephen R. and Reddock, with several others, started to the hospital. In the afternoon of the same day; my father came into camp with Reddock's father. Father had heard that I was dead. When I met him I was so weak that I wept. I had utterly despaired of ever seeing any of the home folks again, and even now I feel that these hills will be my burying place.

We have learned that J. T. Howell is also dead; but he breathed his last at home and his wife and babe received his dying caresses. I went with father to the city on the 20th, and then to the depot as he intended starting home. After bidding him farewell, I returned to camp completely exhausted and utterly despondent. Sick yesterday and all the others of mess are down. Only 3 in the company are reported for duty, and they are specially detailed to make beef soup for the rest of us. The stuff they call beef soup is only a nasty, sticky mush, and I hope I'll never see any more like it.

Some shells are thrown into the city every day, but this morning about daylight, a furious firing began, which lasted about two hours. I have just learned that one of the Federal mortar boats ran our batteries, and that another attempted it but had to turn back.

July 23d, 1862.—Our Battalion attempted some picket duty again today. A light rain this morning. At this time—sunset—there is heavy cannonading below the city. Weather warm. I think we sick men are slowly improving.

August 2d, 1862.—The two fleets steamed up and down the river on the afternoon of the 24th and the morning of the 25th, and have not shown themselves since. It is probable no more attempts will be made to take this place till late Autumn or winter.

There are constant rumors of our removal to some other point, but nothing definite is known.

Troops are being concentrated at Tangipaho, La., but for what purpose I do not know. I saw the 4th La. Reg't last Monday and was well pleased with the men and especially with Col. H. W. Allen. A member of his Reg't informed me that he left

home as a private; eighteen months afterward he is acting Brig. Gen.

Easterling left for Jackson Hospital last Monday. There is still a great deal of sickness, and our doctors have no medicines a part of the time. We skin willow and dogwood trees, boil the bark and drink the tea. I am having fever again every day.

There are rumors of a disorganization of the Battalion based on these grounds: At the organization in April last, only five companies participated, and we are now told that we were not entitled to a Lt. Col. On the 14th of May, a new enlistment of the Companies took place; also a new reorganization. No new election for field officers was held. In a few days we were ordered here, Balfour and Jones being recognized as Lt. Col. and Maj. respectively.

After some weeks, Capt. Easterling of Co. D. addressed a communication to Gen. M. L. Smith, setting forth the foregoing facts. For this, he was, on the 28th of June, placed under arrest, and is now being tried by a Court-Martial. He is charged with using disrespectful language toward a superior officer. It is said by some, that Balfour may, in turn, be called to account.

Dissatisfaction also exists in regard to non-payment of the men.

Added to the 5 companies originally composing the Battalion are Co. "F," Capt. Con. Rea, Lauderdale County, Co. "G," Capt. Sheppard of Smith County, Co. "H," Capt. McAlpine of Smith County and Co. "I," Capt. Pringle of Newton County. These last Companies were quite full, and some of them have but recently arrived; but the men are said to be falling sick very fast. D. R. McLane died at Clinton on the 26th ult.

August 11th, 1862.—We have slightly moved our encampment, though we still use water from the same spring.

We are still in the dark in regard to the finding of the Court Martial in Capt. Easterling's case. Balfour is gone and rumor now has it that he has been cashiered. Adjutant Williams is also away and First Serg't Cole, of Co. "F" is acting in his place.

Mr. James Pickering was in camp a few days since. His report confirmed by late letters from home, considerably brighten the crop out-look. Capt. Magee returned on the 6th, after an absence of several weeks. Most of the members of the company are still on the sick list. I am again having fever. Geo. R. is still quite unwell, and John R. is in a deplorable condition, having many symptoms of dropsy.—Numerous and conflicting reports have reached us for two or three days, regarding the

loss of the Ram, Arkansas and the reported capture of Baton Rouge, La.

Sunday 17th, Aug. 1862.—Attended preaching today. Mr. Weatherford, from Lauderdale Co. preached. * * * *

Irving Dykes died at Clinton, Miss., on the 12th. Some of the men have returned from the various hospitals, though none of them seem fully recovered.

August 31st, 1862.—Sunday again. About the time of my last entry the federal fleet again appeared in the river above the city, creating considerable commotion. The capture of our transport "Playfair" with 2000 stand of arms increased the consequent excitement. The ostensible object, however, is the exchange of prisoners, but our leaders have wisely thought best to be on the alert. Hence, on the 19th, we received orders to be ready to march at a moment's warning, as the enemy were landing troops at Haynes' Bluff, on the Yazoo river. After several hours of wearing suspense, which was occasionally aggravated by the reception of new orders, setting a new hour for starting, or requiring us to be ready to move at the tap of the drum, the excitement gradually subsided, and we again settled down to the "rusting out" process of inaction.

Lt. Lott arrived on the 20th having been absent since June 15th. Blackwell was with him. I took John R. to the "City Hospital" on the 23d. He is suffering a great deal. On my return, I found Easterling in camp. He is still unwell. On the 25th, Richard Robertson (John R's. father) arrived in camp accompanied by a Mr. Nichols, who brought us Leaf River boys a wagon load of provisions from our homes. I went with the old man to the hospital, where I left him.

I was reported for duty on the 28th for the first time since July 7th, Geo. R. is also considerably improved, though Easterling is having fever again. We greatly enjoyed those home raised provisions. We drew muskets on the 29th, having received Knapsacks and Haversacks a few days previously. Ex-Lt. Fairley paid us a visit yesterday. I was truly glad to greet him.

Two more of Co. "B" have died since my last entry. Winston Morris died at home on the 23d inst., and J. R. McPhail at Clinton on the 25th. Two other deaths have not been noted in these pages. Marion Cook died at Miss. Springs on the 1st of August, and W. M. Pace at Monticello, on the 7th. Thus we have lost by death 14 in all in a little over two months. Seventeen in all have died, including two, who never left their homes. Almost as many have been discharged and our roll now carries 95 names exclusive of Commissioned officers.

Capt. Easterling was released from arrest and his sword returned on yesterday. Lt. Col. Balfour is still absent leaving Maj. Jones in command. * * * *

Sept. 7th, 1862.—* * * *

On Friday 5th inst. the Federal Gunboat "Essex" came in sight of the city. We fired 2 guns and she fired one.

Stephen Robertson returned from the hospital Friday and Reddock on Saturday. Neither are well. Geo. R. is on duty again, and Easterling is improving. Orders have been received for a new election of Field officers tomorrow. Great electioneering is going on.

Sept. 8th, 1862.—After 24 hours of excitement and chagrin, and disappointment to many of us, I will make a brief entry. All the forenoon was spent in the midst of the excitement that usually attends an election in which every one feels a personal interest. Party lines were sharply drawn, two tickets were in the field, and the adherents of each were manfully working for success. By 10 o'clock A. M. everything was in readiness for an election, every man having his ticket already written. Instead of ordering the election to proceed Major Jones positively forbade it, and threatened to arrest every Company Commander who should hold one or allow it to be held. Well we are pretty mad, but there seems to be no help for it.

October 12th, 1862.—A month has passed, and on one pretext and another, the reorganization of our Battalion is seemingly as far off as ever. We are now told that as soon as a special order is received from the War Department at Richmond directing it an election will be held. Col. Balfour is still absent. It is said he is in Richmond and is endeavoring to have the command officially designated us "Balfour's Battalion."

A few things occurring since my last entry demand a brief notice.

We supposed that we had marching orders on Sept. 10th; but when the order was read on Dress parade, it was simply an assurance that we would receive such orders as soon as the Brigade reported 2000 effective men. Following the hopes aroused by this order, when *ten less* of effective men were reported by the Adjutant next morning, we did not feel very sanguine of an early departure.

On Sunday, Sept. 15th, I went on the picket line for the first time since July. I was posted on the bank of the river about five miles above the city of Vicksburg, of which I had an un-

obstructed view. The mighty River with its long sweep, the dense forests, the distant village on the Louisiana side, and the "Hill City," combined to make a rather interesting view, to which, when night came on, the stars, and then a slightly waning moon, added new and softened charms.

* * * *

Monday 23rd, I was again on picket and got a thorough wetting in the rain. I was already unwell, but on my return to Camp I found that Dr. McCormick (our Regimental surgeon) had Geo. R. apply for a discharge. I drew up all the necessary papers, and had them signed by the Company and Battalion officers, and in doing so got wet again. I was very sick for a few days when my ailment developed into a pronounced case of jaundice.

About this time we draw four months' wages and twenty-five dollars, commutation money, making the exact amount received by each private $71.76. (Those whose enlistment dated from May 3rd. received $41.56 each.)

We are beginning to need our Winter clothing. Our company shipped some to Brandon last Summer, and I have just written to know if it is still there. * * * *

November 24th, 1862.—Another gap of more than a month. Sick and tired, I'll try to make a short entry.

Tuesday, October 14th, Dr. Crawford of our Co. was detailed to go home and secure winter clothing for our men. I went with him as far as Brandon. The officials who examined the passengers, to intercept soldiers trying to leave the army, were not very strict, I suppose, since by a made up story I passed myself as a Citizen returning home from a visit to relatives in camp. Arriving in Brandon, I went to the "Shelton House," kept by Mr. Travers, where I remained till Thursday, 16th. I found our clothing all right. On Wednesday afternoon there was a "Militia" drill in the City.

In company with Lt. Clarke of Co. "D" I returned to camp on Thursday. On the train was the same officer who had questioned me, as I went out Tuesday. I told him the whole story, which he evidently enjoyed, though I could see he was a little vexed at the way he had been imposed on. The interview ended by his asking me if there was anyone on the train who could vouch for me. I referred him to Lt. Clarke.

About the 23rd, Reddock started home on sick furlough. He had been *very* sick, the Dr. even expressing the opinion that he

would die. I had written to his father. Stephen R. is quite unwell.

On Monday, Oct. 17th, I was detailed to go to the city as one of the Patrol or Police guard. The detail consisted of about one hundred men from the Brigade, of whom perhaps 75 were French Creoles, but few of whom could speak or understand a word of English. The army Regulations were read every morning in both French and English so far as they related to our present duty. Our rations were scant and we had to hire them cooked. Various duties fell to my lot while on this detail. Perhaps the most disagreeable was guarding a boat laden with coal at the water's edge on cold, dark windy nights. Two others were with me, but neither of them could speak a word of English or understand a word I said, neither could I understand a word they said. The officer who posted us there probably informed my comrades for the night, what they were required to do, but I was utterly in the dark as to my duty. I was glad when daylight came.

Another memorable duty was being placed as a "look out" just under the great bell of the City clock in the Court House tower. It was perhaps a hundred feet from the ground to this bell, and we had often counted its strokes at a distance of four or five miles. Sitting in a few feet of it, and watching the ponderous hammer automatically striking the brazen sides, the din was almost overpowering.

While occupying the position one day, I saw a herd of Texas cattle, five hundred in number,—swim across the River. They were driven in apparently just opposite the city, but they were borne downward by the current until the landing on the Eastward side was made about two miles below the city.

I returned to camp Friday, Nov. 7th. During my absence another company had been mustered into our Battalion. It is the "Kemper Guards" from Kemper County, under the command of Capt. D. C. Durham, and will be known as Co. "K." These men are not raw recruits. They went out in July, 1861, became incorporated in the 59th Va. Reg't, Wise' Legion, were captured at Roanoke Island in Feb. last, and paroled, were exchanged in September, and ordered to join a Mississippi Battalion.

Crawford returned on Saturday, Nov. 8th. Through him we learn of the death of John and Jas. Welch and G. W. and Thos. J. Mitchell, all of the Fencibles. In the death of the two last named young men, Cader and Sallie Mitchel, have lost, inside of twelve months, 6 sons, 1 daughter and 1 grandchild.

But the saddest message of all to us, was the announcement

that Stephen R.'s little boy was dead. May God comfort the hearts of the bereaved parents.

"Mourn not for the child from thy tenderness riven,
Ere stain on its purity fell;
To thy questioning heart lo! an answer from Heaven.
Is it well with the child? It is well!"

Saturday 8th I went for the first time, to Brigade Inspection. About 1000 or 1200 men out of the four La. Regt's. and our Bat. were present. The next Saturday, October 15th, we were inspected again. This time about 2000 men were in ranks, and executed several maneuvers by order of Gen. M. L. Smith.

I was sick again on Sunday 16th and am not fully recovered yet, Stephen R. is on duty. Geo. R. has chills and fever. Easterling has been appointed company nurse, and does no other duty now.

On Thursday 20th, a flutter of excitement was caused by the announcement that a man named Gerault had been assigned to the Command of this Battalion, and a few minutes later the officer himself came into camp. Next morning the drums beat as usual for regimental drill, but when line was formed an order was read to the effect that J. F. Gerault had been assigned to the command of the 6th Miss. Battalion, and that the Co. commanders should meet him at 10 o'clock A. M. with lists of all the arms, equipments, etc., furnished by the Government. The officers met and drew up a protest against his assuming command to be handed to him as soon as he arrived. He failed to make his appearance and on Sunday 23d (yesterday) an order was read stating that he had been suspended.

Thus the matter stands at present. If Col. Gerault had not hailed from Louisiana, probably his appointment would have been less distasteful; but just now our officers entertain a sort of prejudice against those of the La. Reg'ts. Whether well founded or not, this prejudice is very real. There is also a matter of controversy in our Battalion, Capts. Rea and Magee each claims to be a senior Capt., the former having been commissioned as a staff officer.

A great deal of card playing is now going on in Camp. The officers indulging in the greatest extent. So prone are we to follow the example of others, that our mess secured a broken deck of cards and played till we became so ashamed of ourselves that we threw the old cards away.

Eld. W. W. Keep, a Baptist preacher, has been appointed

chaplain of our Battalion. He is a good speaker, and seems to be very zealous. He distributes tracts once a week, and I am always glad to see him coming.

Lt. Buchanan returned to camp a few days ago, having been home for two or three weeks. Lts. Lott and Graham are both absent, and have been for months.

We are required to move inside the line of fortifications, and yesterday Lt. Buchanan was sent, with a party of men to prepare the ground. Balfour has not yet returned. Harvey Freeman died at Hazlehurst, August 29th. We have about 65 men in camp now, and the general health is decidedly improving. Duckworth has resumed the duties of Orderly Sergt.

December 4th, 1862.—We are in our new quarters in the mud, and the weather is very cold. John S. Robertson died on the 23d of Nov. The Dr. said he had pneumonia, and he and Howell were both messmates of mine. We moved to this place (which is not far from where we encamped last July) on the 27th and 28th of Nov. It is not a desirable place for a camp, both wood and water being scarce.

We have, I suppose, been placed with the 26th, 27th and 31st La. Reg'ts, in a new Brigade. On Saturday 29th we were minutely inspected by our new Brig. Gen. S. D. Lee. Smith has been promoted to Maj. Gen. Our new Gen. made a very favorable impression on the men.

Orders from Brigade Head-quarters read Saturday afternoon directed us to hold an election on Monday Dec. 1st for Lt. Col. and Major. Only 9 companies are included in the order. 1st Lt. Davenport of Co. "K," 26th La. Reg't, was designated to superintend the election. Electioneering began again. Sunday Nov. 30th, I spent several hours in the city cemetery, and saw many things that was of interest to me.

On Monday, Dec. 1st, we held the election, about which we had talked so long and thought so much, and over which some had fretted themselves somewhat. Capt. W. K. Easterling of Co. "D" was elected Lt. Col. and Lt. W. H. Clarke of the same company was elected Major. The vote was practically unanimous, Companies "C" and "E" declining to take any part in it.

Next morning a detail of 200 men was called for from the Battalion. It took nearly every effective man but they went off like it was a frolic. They soon came back.

That afternoon John W. Jones, our former Major, quietly took his departure. He was a good man * * * * On dress parade

an order was read designating our command as the "46th Miss. Regt."

(Note.—For some months this will be more of a narrative than a Journal).

* * * *

Lt. Buchanan, having been temporarily assigned to duty as Adjutant, took charge of the office on the 12th. About the same time companies "C" and "E" were detached and sent to a point a few miles North of the city on Chickasaw Bayou. From certain movements of the enemy it was thought he contemplated landing a force in that vicinity. A few days subsequently Co. "F" was also detached and sent to join "C" and "E."

An old neighbor, Richard Robertson, arrived in camp on the 13th. He came on receiving a notice from me, that his son was dead. May God comfort those old men whose sons precede them to the grave.

Lt. Col. Easterling arrived in camp on the 14th, though he is unfit for duty. We constructed chimneys to our tents, which did good service in the cold wet weather that followed. For several days thereafter we essayed Battalion Drill, under Maj. Clarke. * * * * We were also required to keep three days' rations prepared, and to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning.

December 19th another one of our company, John Bradly, died at Crystal Springs, Miss., after an illness of many months.

On Saturday, Dec. 20th, I was detailed to write for the Adjutant, which relieved me of any other duty. On the same day we were notified that President Davis, who was in the city, would review us on the morrow.

At an early hour next morning the men were in line with clean clothes on, and everything was in readiness for the review. It was till late in the afternoon, however, that the reviewing party arrived. The men had been in line six or seven hours without food, and did not feel as enthusiastic as they did in the early morning. Not being in the ranks myself I failed to get as good a view of Mr. Davis, as I desired. He is a spare made man, and I should say a rather ugly one. His complexion is sallow and his face is on the "hatchet" order. He was attired in plain citizen's dress, and I should think there was little in his appearance to mark what he really is—one of the most noted men now living—and, as I think, posterity will regard as one of the greatest.

Gen. Joseph E. Johnson and staff were also present. "Old

Joe'' looked the most perfect specimen of a soldier I ever saw. ''Rough and ready'' in exterior he impresses one at a glance that he is no ordinary man. He is past the meridian of life, but looks hale and hearty and bids fair to live many years longer. Gens. Smith and Lee, with their respective staffs were also present.

It was known that the Federals were probably landing troops on the Yazoo River, and Gen. Lee had promised Maj. Clarke that our Reg't should first engage them. Hence we were not surprised when at 3 o'clock A. M. on the 25th we were aroused by the ''long roll,'' and ordered to proceed *at once* to man the fortifications above the city.

One fact now transpired, that did not speak well for the efficiency of our officers. There were not enough guns by fully one-third to arm the ''Effectives'' in the regiment, and less than 30 rounds of ammunition for what guns there were. The Ordnance was absent. * * * * I was called out of the ranks, required to make out a requisition for guns and ammunition, and proceed at once to the city to have it filled. I did so, but the officials, through whose hands the paper had to go, were so tardy that it was 11 o'clock A. M. before I could return to camp. The Reg't had just come in ''without the loss of a man.''

In the afternoon, we drew four months' wages, being the second payment since we entered the service. Thus ended our first Christmas in camp.

Our detached companies, however, were not faring so well. The enemy began to land troops on the Eastern bank, and our companies engaged his pickets on the 25th. This was kept up through the 26th with two or three slight casualties on our side.

On the same day, I made another requisition for ordnance stores, and while in the city, I had a fair view of the Federal fleet as it was ''shelling the woods,'' to the north of us.

At 3 o'clock A. M. Saturday 27th, we were ordered to proceed at once to the scene of action. It was bitterly cold, dark and raining, yet the men fell into line with alacrity. To my utter disgust, I was again called out of line, and ordered to Col. Easterling to remain in camp. The regiment filed off and I, feeling disgraced, waited for daylight.

A little after sunrise the faint rattle of distant musketry was borne to our ears, with the occasional boom of a cannon. This continued all day, and I think these were the most restless hours I ever experienced. Supposing my company to be engaged, I could not reconcile myself to being absent from it, though I was acting in obedience to positive orders. Feeling sure that some

were being killed or wounded, and not knowing who, mingled with the excitement one naturally feels on hearing the din of battle, added to the feeling already mentioned rendered my situation almost unendurable.

In the afternoon, rumors from the field began to come in, but they were extravagant and conflicting. Seemingly one of the most reliable, (for it was from a man who said he was just out of the fight) was that "the 46th Reg't, was cut all to pieces, and *every one* of *Capt. Magee's company except seven* was killed."

The next day the suspense was equally great. It was Sunday, but the deep thunder of the artillery and the incessant rattle of musketry indicated that the contest was assuming greater proportions, and was getting hotter every hour.

In the evening, Ordnance Serg't McLaurin, arrived from home, so I lost no time in turning the ordinance business over to him and preparing to go to the front. About this time, however, Dr. McCormick came in, and stated that at the time he left the field, Co. "B" had not fired a gun, and that only one man in the Regiment had been seriously hurt, at all. This assurance of course relieved my mind to a considerable extent; but I had also received letters from home, which brought one piece of information that made it important that I should see *one* of the Company as soon as possible. Geo. R's wife had borne him a son.

By dawn Monday 29th, I was on my way to the firing line, "armed and equipped," with a haversack of bread and beef, and that letter to George.

Our Brigade occupied the extreme right, and as the enemy held a portion (or at least commanded it) of the intervening road, I was compelled to retrace a part of my steps and proceed by another route. The firing was hotter than ever that morning, and I learned before reaching my command that Adjt. Gen. Paul Hamilton had been killed.

I found our regiment posted on Blake's Levee, and to the right of the Bayou which has given a name to the battle. In a few minutes after I had reached my command the main assault on our position was made. It was on our left and almost entirely hidden by a fringe of willows.

Heavy, lead colored clouds covered the sky. The deep toned thunder of the artillery was almost drowned in the ominous roar of musketry, while enveloping the whole, hung thick folds of smoke. But above the boom of cannon and bursting shell, above the din of small arms, piercing the sky with its clear,

shrill alto, came shout upon shout from the battling boats. How the nerves quivered and the heart wildly beat to join the fray! A staff officer galloped up and ordered Col. Easterling to form in line in the open field behind us. As we did so emerging from a fringe of timber, our own artillery at the base of the hills in our rear was turned upon us, but fortunately the mistake was rectified before any harm was done. Never have I longed more keenly in my life to hear an order, than I then was to hear "Forward, Double quick."

Gradually, as the assaulting columns were beaten back, the firing abated, while the shouts of victory along our lines, swelled louder and louder. Resuming our position on the Levee, (it was a mistaken order that caused us to leave it) we watched and waited.

The particulars of the battle were learned by degrees. Common history has recorded them more accurately than I can. I did nothing and saw nothing worthy of special note. A fringe of timber prevented our seeing the assault except through one small opening, but a dense pall of smoke hid everything, and after the smoke had lifted or been beaten down by the rain, the ground was too level to allow us to see any portion of the field whereon the dead lay. Those who saw the field said that our loss was very heavy, while that of the enemy was, of course, much greater. The loss of our popular Adjutant General cast a gloom over the whole brigade.

The clouds grew denser, and soon the rain began to fall. An artillery duel was kept up till night, with occasional volleys of small arms. Tuesday 30th and the night following the rain was almost incessant, rendering our position very unpleasant as the air was very cold and we were not allowed to kindle any fires. Very little firing that day.

Wednesday 31st, a flag of truce was sent in by the enemy asking permission to bury his dead. That night he began to reëmbark his forces. I was in front of our line on picket that night, and I came near freezing it seemed. It was New Year's eve, and we thought of home and its dear associations as we stood silent in the icy darkness.

Thursday and Friday, Jany 1st and 2d, slight skirmishing was kept up. On the latter date, I was one of a reconnoitering party that approached near enough to the gunboats to draw their fire. The timber around us was torn up considerably, but none of our party were hurt. That afternoon we were relieved (the 35th Miss. taking our place) and were ordered to return to our camp. It was raining again and the road was

desperately muddy. The whole way was lined with newly arrived soldiers, who amused themselvees, near the *real* slippery places, by calling to some imaginary person *up a tree* and seeing some fellow lose his footing, as he looked upward while walking along. I did not get caught that way but I did slide down a steep hill in a sitting posture, with my haversack of cooked food, and several shovels full of slush "boiling over" between my thighs. We reached camp about 7:30 o'clock P. M.

The next day, Saturday 3d, the Federal fleet steamed up the river, and the attempt to turn our right flank was abandoned.

Nothing of special importance occurred till Thursday, Jan. 15th, at which time the Federal fleet again appeared in the river above the city, and there was no time after that the boats were all out of sight. From that time onward we were required to repair to the city at 2 o'clock every third or fourth morning. This was soon changed to every alternate morning. The object we were told was to guard against any surprise the enemy might attempt.

The men were becoming dissatisfied, and some were threatening to desert. This threat was carried into execution on the night of the 24th by H. Hester, W. P. Dyess and W. R. Speed.

On the 28th, Capt. Magee started home on detail of one month to bring in deserters, stragglers and recruits. He returned on March 3d bringing with him many who had deserted from his and other companies.

Prior to Capt. Magee's departure, it had become pretty well understood that a man named Sears had been appointed Col. of this Regiment. * * * * On the 30th of Jan'y, Col. C. W. Sears arrived in camp, and assumed command on the 31st. * * * * As we learned him better, he became a trusted and beloved officer.

On the morning of Feb. 2d the Federal Ram "Queen of the West," ran by our batteries, sustaining but slight damage in doing so. History has recorded her capture in Red River, her subsequent exploits and her final destruction.

Stephen R's wife came into camp on the 12th and left on the 15th. She was accompanied by Messrs. Mitchell and Speed.

On the night of the 14th, the "Indianola" also ran by our batteries. She was sunk by the "Webb" and the "Queen of the West," on the 24th in shallow water, and blown up on the 25th.

On the 17th of Feb., we were required to relieve the 17th La. Reg't which was occupying some old tents near a steep ridge known as the "Backbone." Our duty consisted in manning some rifle pits contiguous to the River, at 3 o'clock every morn-

ing, and remaining in position till sunrise. Each Regiment remains there one week, and hence we returned to the camp on the 24th.

Immediately after Col. Sears' arrival Lt. Buchanan declined to serve as Adj't any longer. Lt. Stanford of Co. "C" assumed the duties of that position, until the 21st of Feb. when Ex-Lt. J. C. Porter was appointed Adjt. and at once entered his duties.

About this time, Cols. W. E. Baldwin and W. S. Featherston were promoted to Brig. Gen. and we were placed under the former. Our Brigade at this time consisted of the 4th and 46th Miss., the 17th and 31st La. Regts. Waffords and Bowman's artillery, and Smith and Haynes Cavalry.

On the 19th of Feb. the Federal fleet began to throw shells into the city again. On the second of March we again went to the "Backbone" returning on the 9th. Capt. Magee came in on the 3d as already noted.

On the 6th day of March we witnessed a military execution. The victim was a youth—almost a boy—who had deserted from a Tennessee Reg't, and enlisted in the Federal Army. He was captured at Chickasaw Bayou, and tried by a Court Martial. He met his fate with fortitude. It was a solemn and impressive scene.

The 2d, Lt. James A. Graham having resigned, we held an election to fill the vacancy on the 13th of March. On the second ballot, T. G. Crawford was elected. * * * *

Another member of Co. "B" has answered the roll call of Eternity. Evan G. Freeman, one of our most reliable men, died at the "City Hospital" on the 19th after a long illness.

On the 23d, we again went to the rifle pits. Just at daybreak on the 25th, we heard the pickets firing up the river and we knew that some kind of craft was approaching. Soon they came in sight, two gunboats, one some distance in advance of the other. Our batteries opened finely, the hills fairly trembling under the terrific roar. On sped the gallant barks, but the terrible storm of iron that was hurled against them proved too galling. One careened, and then went under in front of the city. As she went down, a mighty shout went up from the thousands of soldiers who were looking on. The other boat floated past our batteries, though in an apparently disabled condition.

It was just a year that morning since we left home, and as I was reflecting on the changes twelve months had wrought, we received orders to march at 3 o'clock P. M. For sometime the

enemy had been operating in the vicinity of Yazoo Pass, Cold Water, and Deer Creek, and we naturally concluded that we would go to one of these places.

We marched away at the designated time, and bivouacked for the night about two miles above Chickasaw Bayou. Started again at 3 o'clock A. M. and reached Haynes' Landing on the Yazoo River, by daylight. Understanding that fighting was going on at Greenville, we felt sure that that was our destination. Evidently we would soon go somewhere, for the mail packet "Dew Drop" steamed up, and we went on board, and were under way by 10 o'clock A. M., leaving a wake of foam behind. Before I had got into position to my liking, we left the main channel of the Yazoo River and proceeded up Little Deer Creek, which, at this time, was running up stream. Its channel was crooked and narrow, and we frequently collided with overhanging trees. After a great deal of bumping and thumping to the imminent danger of our smoke stacks, scape pipes and Jack-staff of the steamer as well as the hats of those of us who were on the hurricane deck, we debarked at the plantation of Mr. Paxton, about six miles above the mouth of Little Deer Creek. The shore on either side from Haynes' to this place was entirely submerged, though the marks on the trees indicated that the flood lacked several feet of being as high as it was the year before. This was the first vestige of farm we had seen, and surely the prospect here was cheerless enough. One ridge hardly large enough for a garden held a lot of negro cabins, while across a wide swift current of water was another knoll containing the barn, stables, etc. All else was a "cheerless waste of waters."

The steamboat could go no further, and no other means of transportation was in sight except a small "scow" which was gracefully anchored by one end having drifted against the bank and the other against a sapling. Said vessel was manned by half a dozen men of the 26th La. Reg't. Only half of our Reg't could go at once and Co. "B" was in the first load. We soon learned that our progress was slow, whether it was sure or not. Indeed, for a time it seemed that it was *not* sure, for the wind blew us out of "our reckoning" and deposited us on a partly submerged "May-Haw Tree." By dint of hard work with Crawford for pilot, steersman, boat-swain, Captain and Admiral all rolled into one, we succeeded in extricating ourselves, and proceeded on our way. We each took practical lessons in "working our passage," and at dark we reached Victor F. Wilson's negro quarters which was our destination. The distance from

Paxton's was four or five miles, and the only intervening landing was about midway between the two, and which consisted of another negro quarter, also belonging to Mr. Paxton.

There was a foot of dry ground visible here. The negroes were all in their cabins, with a "dug-Out" fastened to each door post. Near the top of the doors was the water line of the flood of the year before.

After debarking at Wilson's we marched about ¾ of a mile over fresh plowed land, and bivouacked in an old "deadening," already occupied by the 3d and 26th La. Reg'ts and 1st Miss. Bat. Gen. Lee was in Command, and the enemy was reported about 10 miles distant but falling back. The balance of the Regiment came up next day.

During our stay at this place we had some new experiences. Our Reg't and the 26th La. being entirely without food obtained permission from Gen. Lee to shoot some wild ducks, an abundance of which were in sight. Not confining themselves to feathered game, the boys opened fire on a herd of cattle, and for a time it sounded like a sharp skirmish. An order to "cease firing" from headquarters, prevented a heavy loss to the owner of the cattle at least. Perhaps he was revenged, for a portion of this very beef was issued to us as rations, and as we did not have a grain of salt, nor a sign of a cooking vessel and as with the beef was issued some coarse unsifted corn meal which when placed on a chip would get dry and crumble before it would cook, our meals were rather "unsatisfactory."

Saturday morning March 28th, the expedition commenced its return. An old flat boat having been added to our fleet we were able to transfer a whole regiment at once. The 3d La. and 1st Miss. Bat. both being small, were taken the same trip.

On Saturday night there was a violent storm of wind and rain. The ground we occupied was heavily timbered, and this timber had been deadened some years before, and was ready to fall. Several large trees fell near us, two of them threw dirt on me, as I sought a more open space. Providentially no one was hurt with us, but we learned subsequently that several men were killed by falling timber on the East side the Yazoo River.

Sunday 29th, the 26th La. started down the Creek, a detail from our Reg't being aboard to take back the boats. I was one of that detail, and I never engaged in much harder work than that return trip was. The wind was blowing a gale right against us, and we frequently had great difficulty in forcing our way through the drifts that obstructed the channel.

Next morning, 30th, we started—a portion of our Reg't being

again left behind, as a detachment of artillery required half of our fleet. We staid all night at Paxton's and the balance of regiment came down next day just as the Steamer "John M. Sharpe" came up, we went aboard leaving Co. "E" as Scouts. In a few hours we were landed at Haynes'.

Col. Sears had been ordered to report to Brig. Gen. Hebert, and taking a skiff at Paxton's he proceeded to Gen. Hebert's headquarters at Snyder's Bluff. Some two or three hours after our arrival at Haynes he joined us, informing us that we would remain where we were until further orders. This was an unwelcome announcement.

The next day, April 1st, a Federal Gunboat came up the Yazoo River and threw a few shells in the vicinity of our lower works. We were hurriedly marched to Snyder's Bluff, 3 miles, where we remained until the afternoon of next day, when we returned to Haynes'. I was appointed Serg't that day.

We remained at Haynes' until Thursday, April 16th, performing heavy guard and fatigue duty. During our stay at that place, we learned that two others of our company had died. Wm. R. Speed was taken sick while we were on Deer Creek, was sent to the camp at Vicksburg, where on the 10th he died of Congestive Chill. E. L. L. Speights died at Lauderdale Springs on the 14th. * * * *

We returned to Vicksburg on the 16th when tents were immediately struck and the regiment moved to a new encampment further from the grave yard, and on a hill. Stephen, Geo. R. & I, all being unwell, remained at the old camp that night.

Between three and four o'clock next morning I witnessed an impressive scene. Being aroused by the pickets firing, I knew another battery running enterprise was on foot. Hastily climbing a high hill, I obtained a pretty fair view of the splendid panorama. Across the river two or three buildings were on fire, the flames leaping madly upward, lighting up the sky and the dense curtain of smoke that swung over the river with a livid glow. The whole surface of the stream was lighted up and far out on its broad bosom was a fleet of five or six steamers and two gunboats. The latter were firing as rapidly as their guns could be worked, while our batteries were sending forth a stream of shot and shell. The dense smoke that partially concealed the flashes of sulphurous flame, added to the wierdness of the scene.

One of the boats took fire. The flames carried upward losing themselves in a dense volume of smoke that shone like a rosy sunset cloud. The air was full of bursting shells and screaming

shots, while through it all could be heard the wild hurrahs of our men. It was a sight never to be forgotten, and while a sensation of awe came over me to behold such a display of man's destructive energy, it awoke the savage in the heart and filled it with an enthusiastic desire to be in the thick of the work of death. Another bark went down, and the agonizing wails of the drowning wretches on the water were faintly heard amid the exultant tones of the victors' shouts.

The other boats ran past, the flames completed their work of ruin, the cannons were hushed and the gray streaks of the morning were stealing over the Eastern hills. Quiet once more reigned over the bosom of the "Father of waters."

After this, five companies of our regiment were sent to Fort Hill every morning at 3 o'clock.

Drew two months' wages on the 21st. On the night of the 22d one gunboat and five transports succeeded in running past our batteries. Attended Brigade Drill on the 23d. About this time our regiment was greatly excited over reports of a Federal raid led by Col. Grierson, which passed nearly through the entire state.

Another gunboat ran past our batteries on the morning of the 26th. Stephen R. and I both went to the Regimental Hospital. A little after noon a man named Walters of Co. "C" was walking across the yard fell and died in less than one minute.

I remained only a day at the Hospital. Easterling came in from Canton, about the same time, having been away since Feb.

Tuesday 28th, at 10 o'clock P. M., we were ordered to prepare two days' rations immediately. To carry out this order required nearly all the rest of the night for some of us. I was unable for duty, but resolved to go with the command. Receiving no orders to move as we expected, at seven o'clock our company was sent on a fatigue detail. About sunset we were notified that the regiment would move at once.

We formed the Brigade in the city, and about dark, started on the Warrenton Road. We marched till 2 o'clock A. M. when we bivouacked two miles below Warrenton, (the scene of our exploit last June). By sunrise on the 30th we were in motion and reached Hankerson's Ferry on the Big Black River about noon. The steamer "Charm" conveyed us across the stream where we rested four or five hours.

About 5 o'clock P. M. we started Southward again. The roads were now more level, the air seemed purer and the spirits of the men were wonderfully elated. Again and again we

made the "echoes" ring with our shouts. Jest and repartee were heard on every side, and altogether "Baldwin's Cavalry" (as some one dubbed us) enjoyed themselves better than on any march they had ever made. But physical fatigue will dampen the ardor of the most elastic spirit, and as long hours dragged by with, no orders save "close up!" the enthusiasm seemed to die away, and a great weariness of limb overtook us.

At 2:30 A. M. we reached Big Bayou Pierre, where we rested until daylight. Big Bayou Pierre, at this point, is a beautiful stream, spanned by a new suspension Bridge. It was now pretty well understood that our destination was Port Gibson, distant about 8 miles. We were in motion again at an early hour, the three left Co.'s of our Reg't. (B. D. and G.) being sent forward under Major Clarke, as a van guard.

Along the road we met both white men and negroes, who informed us that the fighting was near Port Gibson. Soon we heard the roar of Artillery, and then the sharper rattle of musketry. The command "Double-quick" was given and away we went.

In due time we crossed Little Bayou Pierre, on the south bank of which stands Port Gibson, on another new suspension bridge, and before we knew it, we were falling down and against the railing, because of the swing our footsteps gave it. From the hasty view obtained as we double-quicked through it I should say that Port Gibson is one of the wealthiest, as well as one of the most beautiful towns in the State. It stands on a level plain, the streets are broad and regularly laid out, and some of the buildings are handsome and costly. But I had no time to observe anything.

It was an exciting time! The loud peals of artillery rent the sky and reverberated along the hills till their echoes blended with the sharp din of musketry that was rolling toward us from "Grindstone Ford." In the streets all was confusion. Men with pale faces were running hither and thither, some with arms and seeking a command, women sobbing on every side, children in opened eyed wonder clinging to their weeping mothers not understanding the meaning of it all, and negroes with eyes protruding like open cotton bolls were jostling each other and every body else and continuously asking about "dem Yankees."

The ladies cheered us through their tears, and besought us to drive the invaders from their homes. One lady while she prayed Heaven to protect us, said we felt as near to her as though we were her own sons going forth to battle. The wounded, too, were meeting us, some in vehicles and some on

litters, and many a poor fellow with a shattered limb or a gaping wound would wildly hurrah for the "brave Mississippians."

We sped on! Louder roared the cannon and din of the musketry grew more deafening. We met our flying squadrons, regiments cut to pieces till a remnant only were driven from their position by a force fivefold greater than their own. Already we were in advance of our new line, and were going forward upon the run when we were ordered to "right about."

We rejoined the regiment and formed a new line of battle, our regiment occupying a small eminence to the left of the road with a small stream in our front. We had barely formed our line when the enemy open fire on us with artillery and small arms. Just at this time a sad accident occurred. Easterling being weak from recent illness, had been unable to keep up in our forced march. Coming up a little later utterly exhausted, he sat down by a tree. When the bullets began to whistle about us he took his gun by the muzzle to draw it to him. The hammer struck the tree, the cap exploded and the whole charge struck his right arm literally tearing it to fragments from the wrist to above the elbow. Never will I forget the horror-stricken face as he cried "Oh! Pitt, I have ruined my arm!" Seeing his clothes burning, I called Crawford to stood near him to extinguish the flame. Asking for water, he fell fainting as I reached him, but revived as the water was placed to his lips. He was placed on a litter borne to the rear, and I never saw him again.

But the screaming and bursting of shells, the whistling of shot, the ping of bullets, the shrieks of the wounded and the groans of the dying were calculated to strike terror to hearts unused to such scenes. I frankly confess that I was badly demoralized.

Co. "C" was deployed as skirmishers along the little Creek. The 4th Miss. on our left was soon hotly engaged, while further along the line the firing seemed to be heavier still. As we formed our line Col. Sears called out: "Fix bayonets, boys! and if they come bleed 'em!" With fixed bayonets, expecting a charge every minute, we held our line till about one o'clock when we were ordered to cross the narrow Creek on the opposite heights of which the enemy was posted. We did so and were met by a terrible fire of grape, canister and musket shot. In a few minutes, however, we were ordered to resume our former position. We left our dead across the creek, but brought most of the wounded away.

Resuming our position in line, our skirmish line was reën-

forced, and for the balance of the day the firing was mostly confined to the pickets with occasional artillery duels.

After our return from across the creek Capt. Magee asked Lt. Lott where his blanket was, and he replied that it was "over on the hill." "You had better go and get it," said Capt. M., "er you will lose it." "By ——, I reckon its marked!" was the drawling reply.

About sundown, we fell back half a mile, and formed another line. The firing had ceased and the twilight was changing to deep dusk, when suddenly, about 200 yards to our right, a deafening volley of musketry pealed forth. It was the 31st La. repelling a cavalry advance.

Taking the quick step, we marched back to town, nearly three miles, having, as we supposed, entirely lost Co. "C." The retreat had now commenced in earnest and utter confusion was seen on every side, or rather heard for it was now dark. We had drawn no rations since leaving Vicksburg. That morning the town people received our rations, and had them prepared for us; but we marched through town without making any halt. When we had gone a mile or two, the south Western sky was all aglow, and we understood that the bridge across Little Bayou Pierre was in flames.

Such confusion as the road presented! Whole families were flying, they knew not where, while delicately nurtured ladies, implored us by endearing epithets, to save them from the hands of the foe. My eyes filled more than once as I marched by seemingly unheeding these tearful appeals. For I thought of the peaceful homes in Covington County, and reflected that their inmates might one day be doomed to a fate like this. By a rapid march we reached Big Bayou Pierre about 12 o'clock, midnight, where we halted to rest two and a half hours. As we passed out of Port Gibson, I gave a negro a five dollar bill for three hens that he carried. Letting Capt. Magee and Maj. Clarke have one each, I undertook to "fry" the other during this halt. It was certainly the *toughest* chicken I ever tried to eat.

At 2:30 o'clock A. M. Saturday May 2d, the bridge was fired and we started again. At Willow Springs (a deserted cross-roads hamlet) we turned to the left toward Grand Gulf. As day was dawning, Geo. R. and I "fell out" and slept for some hours under a tree. The Brigade or rather a few men of each regiment formed a line of battle on the North bank of Big Bayou Pierre, about midway between Grand Gulf and Port Gibson. The two places are, I am told, only seven miles apart and are

connected by a rail road, but as the enemy was in the way we had to march some twenty miles.

Troops had been coming in all day and I supposed the fight would be renewed next day. About midnight, however, Sat., May 2d, the retreat began. At daylight Sunday morning our Brigade was put in motion. Our progress was slow, at first, as the wagon trains were in front. A little after sunrise a series of explosions were heard behind us. It was the blowing up of the magazines at Grand Gulf.

As the wagons moved, we increased our pace, and the frequent boom of cannon close behind us convinced us that the enemy was moving too. This was one march in which the command "close up" was wholly unnecessary. We reached Hankerson's Ferry on Big Black River about 1 o'clock P. M. A brigade or two of fresh troops was sent to the rear, and by 3 o'clock P. M. all the wagons and most of the troops had crossed over. Our brigade was formed in line of battle on the northern bank. It was near sunset when the improvised pontoon bridge on which we had crossed, was cut loose, and while this was being done, the enemy's skirmishers began firing from the opposite bank. Being placed in line to move from the position we then occupied, a few small shells thrown across the river, was an incentive to greater alacrity in obeying the command "Forward March!"

After a march of two or three miles we came to the encampment of the main army. The Brigade also halted here, but our Reg't was sent out on a cross road about two miles to do picket duty. Returning to the Brigade next morning, we soon set out on the march to Vicksburg, the Brigade being commanded by Col. Richardson of the 17th La. I do not know why there was so much haste; but we made quick time all the way, resting about one hour on the spot where we bivouacked the first night. We reached camp about 4 o'clock P. M. on Monday 4th, the Regiment having about fifty men in line, and Co. "B" being represented by four others and myself. My feet had blood blisters on the soles, and the others were no better off. We had marched about 150 miles in less than five days besides the fighting; and this was no trivial performance for troops unused to long marches.

During the night and till noon the next day, the stragglers kept coming in. Company "C" came in all right, having been at one time entirely surrounded by the enemy. They were extricated through an expedient of Capt. Sublett's as daring as it was successful. As they emerged from a wood they saw in front of them a Federal line of battle facing from them. In

ringing tones the Capt. gave the command, "Battalion, by column, forward, double-quick, *March!*" Into the woods on both sides the Federals dashed and Co. "C" passed unmolested through the gap.

Altogether "Baldwin's Cavalry" was worsted on the trip. Our Co. had two wounded and two missing, there being several killed and wounded in the Regiment.

But that which depressed me more than anything else, was the conduct of some of our officers. (* * * *) *And some men had already begun to suspect the motives as well as doubt the judgement of Gen. Pemberton.*

On reaching camp, we learned that J. H. Williamson of our Co. had died of Typhoid Fever at the Regimental Hospital, on the first day of May.

Tuesday, May 5th, just 24 hours after reaching camp, our Brigade was again put in motion. We moved out on the Baldwin's Ferry road, and bivouacked near the Four mile Bridge, on the R.R., where we remained till the morning of the 8th. We then moved some ten or twelve miles, and halted at a point said to be 10 miles from Hall's Ferry, 10 from Vicksburg and 9 from Warrenton.

On the afternoon of the 7th, Private S. H. P. Wilkes and I were sent back to the camp to prepare muster and pay rolls for Co. "B." Completing the task in the forenoon of the 8th we invested our "Change" in a bag of cakes and started to the command. Reaching the point where we left it, there were no soldiers there, nor could we meet or find any one that had the least idea as to what direction the Brigade had gone. We found other troops encamped along the roads, but "Baldwin's Brigade" was an absolutely unknown quantity so far as they were concerned. Night overtook us, and we had to make our supper, breakfast and dinner off our cakes, so that we overtook the command in the afternoon, our stock in trade was so diminished that we barely realized our original investment.

On the 10th the 31st La. was sent about six miles on the Hankerson's Ferry road, to do picket duty and the next day Cos. "B" & "G" of the 46th Miss. were detailed to occupy a point on the road from Hall's Ferry to Warrenton, some three miles south of where the Brigade was encamped, where we did heavy picket duty.

We were at this time receiving only about one third of a full ration, and considerable "foraging" was indulged in by our boys. In one of the few expeditions of that nature I undertook, I came upon the pleasant home of a Mr. Petty. It is quite an

imposing looking place but pervaded by a home-like atmosphere that was truly restful. A school for girls was being taught there and before the war a successful male Academy had existed at the same place. The local name is "Mt. Magnolia," and after a pleasant visit of some hours, I left, deeply conscious of the fact that the owner impressed me as being *a christian.*

On the 12th we were relieved from picket duty and returning to the Cross-roads, we found the Brigade had again moved. Following it up we found it about two miles East near Antioch Church. Next morning, our Reg't was sent forward on the Hall's Ferry road to do picket duty again.

It should be borne in mind that the army of Gen. Pemberton was maneuvering along the northwestern side of Big Black River, and that in changing our positions we frequently encountered other portions of the army, and that other commands frequently marched past us. The Federal army was on the other side of the River.

We were relieved on the 15th and returned to the Brigade which was set in motion at once, and at dark we reached the R. R. at "Mt. Alban," a way station some six miles east of Vicksburg. We halted till morning. At 10 o'clock A. M. the 4th Miss. was detached and sent off toward Bovina, some four miles distant. In the afternoon the rest of the brigade moved in the same direction, our Regiment and the 17th La. being posted about two miles north of Bovina on the Bridgeport road.

Before reaching Bovina the roar of Artillery could be heard distinctly on the Eastern side of the river. It was the bloody engagement at Baker's Creek, or Champion Hill, as the Federals call it.

It may not be amiss to state that after landing his forces at Rodney the Federal Gen. U. S. Grant moved the Eastern side of the Big Black River and succeeded in placing himself between the wings of Gen. J. E. Johnston's forces. On Friday 15th Stevensien's Division encountered the enemy near Edward's, on Saturday 16th was fought the battle of Baker's Creek, as already noted, and on Sunday 17th occurred the short but sanguinary struggle at Big Black Bridge. Brig. Gen. Tighlman was killed Saturday and his body was taken to Vicksburg for burial.

When we halted Saturday night the roar of the guns at Baker's Creek was still borne to our ears. Pretty soon several wounded men came in to our camp, relating some of the particulars of the struggle and stating that our forces were falling back.

Soon after sunrise Sunday morning 17th sharp volleys of mus-

ketry, announced that the enemy was advancing on the R. R. Bridge. We had some earth works there, but I do not think a single man, who participated in Saturday's engagement, believed we could check the enemy's progress. While I make no pretensions to military science, it seems to me that a blunder was made, *if these works were intended to guard the approaches to Vicksburg.* At this point, at least, the Western bank of the river is elevated and precipitous while the eastern side is flat and level. These earthworks were on the eastern side and *below the enemy* while the river cut off the retreat in the rear if our forces were driven from their position by superior numbers.

I will not attempt to analyze my feelings on this occasion. I dreaded the battle as never before. It seemed to be impressed on me that I should be killed in the fight, and the thought of meeting my God unprepared never seemed half so appalling before. I communicated some of my apprehensions to Stephen and Geo. R. The latter admitted that he shared my feelings to some extent, but said that the thought of the judgment of God was not a terrible thing to him.

I employed myself in making several lists of the men, present, which I handed to the different Co. officers, that we might be able to ascertain our exact losses should one or more lists be lost. The firing seemed to be growing hotter, and presently some cannon shot were heard.

At 9:30 o'clock A. M. we were ordered to the R. R. bridge. It was about three miles and we went at a "doublequick" most of the way. Reaching the spot one glance was enough to show that all was lost. The bridge with a trestle ¾ of a mile in length was in flames, a few yards below in midstream was a burning steamboat, and some of our men were climbing the steep banks without arms and dripping with wet, having swam the stream.

Our Regiment took position at the Western bank to cover the retreat, and though for a time subjected to a galling fire, we did not lose a man. The 4th Miss., however, had fared badly. They had crossed the river early in the morning and taken position in the rifle pits; when these were carried all were captured save those who swam across the stream.

By 12 o'clock we were in full retreat. Our Brigade brought up the rear, and so far as I could see was the only one that preserved any resemblance of discipline. Had the enemy closely followed us that day, he could probably have entered the city without serious opposition.

The spirit of our troops had undergone a great change. Instead of the high hopes that animated us last week, a feeling of

demoralization seemed to permeate the rank and file, and none of us were hopeful as to the results of the campaign.

On Saturday as we passed one fine residence, a number of young ladies stood near the road. With tears and smiles they greeted us and spoke words of cheer; and as our regiment filed by one sweet young voice said. "Remember, Mississippians never surrender!" We saw no smiling faces as we marched toward the doomed city. It was all deserted, and I passed the same spot again after the siege was ended and found a woful change. The mansion had been sacked, the fine grove destroyed, the shrubbery and the crops all trampled down and the last vestige of fencing burned away. It had been occupied by the enemy as Headquarters, perhaps for some General.

Our Brigade was halted below the city, but was not placed in the trenches. We remained there all night. Next morning the 17th La. and the remnant of the 4th Miss. were sent to the camp above the city for the purpose it was said of washing, changing clothing, etc., and it was further said that our Reg't and the 31st La. would go for the same purpose as soon as they returned. About 1 o'clock P. M., however, we were ordered to proceed to our camp. As we liesurely wended our way, we suddenly heard musket firing on the Milldale road, and a few minutes later the boom of a cannon. *It was the pickets of Shupe's Brigade skirmishing with the enemy.*

About this time a staff officer met us and ordered us to occupy the same position we did last Christmas. Passing by our camp in obedience to the order, we found the 17th La. already deployed and our Reg't was moved up to the picket line. While deploying we suddenly encountered a Federal Reg't executing a similar maneuver. In a few minutes the firing became general along the line of the 17th the 4th and the right of our Reg't. Our left companies were occupying some rifle pits, and supporting a battery that had been brought up. The enemy had also placed some light artillery and began playing upon our lines.

This fire was kept up till night; and in front of Shupe's Brigade and the 17th La. there was a continual fusilade all night. We lost several men.

Just at daybreak Tuesday morning, May 19th we fell back to our main line of works. There had been a line of earthworks constructed some time before, extending from Haynes' Landing on the Yazoo River to Warrenton but these fronted the River, and were useless since our position had been turned. Hence no effort was made to hold them.

It is proper to state that all the out-posts such as Snyder's,

Milldale, etc, had been abandoned, and large quantities of commissary and Quarter Masters stores had been destroyed, and several large guns along the upper defenses had been spiked and dismounted.

It is no part of my design to attempt a general sketch of the Siege of Vicksburg. I can only relate a few that I saw. Common history will preserve its most important events, and those who were eye witnesses of its most bloody details will transmit to posterity an outline of what they saw. But after all histories are written, and the tongue of the last survivor is stilled in death, the Recording Angel will have sealed a heavy volume and labeled it "The Untold Sufferings of Vicksburg's Siege." When I look back now, after the lapse of weeks, to that long, bloody and horrible battle, its seems more like a fearful dream than an actual experience.

It is well perhaps, just here to give some idea of our position. The Mississippi River, at this place, runs nearly due South, and was denominated our "rear." Our right rested on the river some two miles below the city, while our left also rested on it about as far above. Our front, which described the arc of the circle, was about six miles in length, the center of which was perhaps three miles from the River. Thus our lines, including the river, was about ten miles long.

Our forces, I think, were placed as follows: On the right was Stevenson's Division, in the Center was Forney's, and on the left was Smith's; the whole commanded by Lt. Gen. John C. Pemberton. I do not know what brigades composed the two first named Divisions. The last was composed of Shupe's, Baldwin's and Vaughn's Brigades and a Battalion of State troops (Militia). Next to Forney's Division, that is on our right, were Shupe's Louisianians, then Baldwin's 31st La. then the Mississippians, then the State troops and then Vaughn's Tennesseeans.

Immediately in front of our Brigade, and continuing to the river was a deep valley, some two or three hundred yards in width, which was a cultivated field last year. It was so free from any object affording shelter, that it saved our lines from any serious assaults, and afforded no protection for the sappers and miners corps to begin operations. On our extreme right, however, a narrow ridge extended from the line of the 31st La. to the center of the valley. Availing himself of the opportunity afforded by this ridge, the enemy tunneled it, and I suppose had a mine ready to spring at the time of the capitulation.

Having made these explanations, I will proceed to note an

event here and there, feeling my utter inadequacy to convey a correct impression of what the reality was.

We had barely got in position on the morning of the 19th when a few volleys of musketry were heard near the position we held there over-night, then a cannon shot or two, and then *a charge.* The enemy had assaulted and doubtless carried our deserted works. Elated with success, he came nearer, and we were soon under a brisk skirmish fire. This was kept up all day, the enemy gradually establishing his lines. In the afternoon a charge was made on our center, but it was repulsed. Company "B" lost one of its best men in this day's fight. John Williams, a litter bearer, was shot through the abdomen with a minnie ball and died a few hours afterward.

Wednesday 20th, Thursday 21st and Friday 22d there was desperate fighting on most parts of our line. Column after column was hurled against our works, only to be driven back in confusion, leaving the ground in front of our lines literally blue with the dead and wounded Federals. Never before had the idea I once entertained of what a battle was like, been so nearly realized as now. The spectacle of perhaps sixty or seventy thousand men *all fighting at once;* with upward, of three hundred cannon belching forth their thunder, is a scene I cannot attempt to describe. In these charges the enemy reached our trenches in many places, and desperate hand to hand conflicts occurred. A few prisoners were taken, it was those whose intrepedity carried them into our works, where they were made captive.

On one of these days, I think it was Wednesday, a line of the enemy advanced to the center of the valley in our front, but were compelled to retreat in utter confusion. Beyond them, to our right, it appeared as though whole regiments went down at once, so terribly withering was the Confederate fire.

James Maxey of our company was shot through the arm this day, and Gen. Baldwin (* * * *) was seriously wounded in the shoulder about the same time.

On Friday, 22d, however, the fighting was heavier, and more stubborn than on any previous day, and I have heard the statement that the Federal loss on that day was greater than in the whole siege beside. Ours, up to this time, had been comparatively light, our regiment having had five or six killed and something over twice as many wounded. After Friday 22d there was only *one* more *general charge.* A brisk fire of pickets and sharpshooters was kept up day and night with but few intermissions, till the end of the siege.

On the afternoon of Monday May 25th a truce of two or three

hours was arranged in order to bury the dead who lay between lines. These bodies had become so offensive that our troops could hardly remain in the trenches along those points where the slaughter had been greatest. Hence our men gladly assisted in the burial of their fallen foes. And among them were found living men, who had fallen, perhaps on Wednesday and certainly not later than Friday before, who had lain there without a drop of water or a particle of shade.

When the grewsome task was completed, we, the common soldiers of both armies, met on halfway ground and had a friendly chat. Old acquaintances were hunted up, and the broken ties of friendship and consanguinity were reunited. Although our foes were elated over their recent victories, and the success of their armies in other fields, and though they knew that famine would ultimately compel us to surrender, yet *I found not a man but what was willing to go home and leave the South alone!* More than one assured me that one provision of the Constitution of the Confederate States, only prevented the West from joining the South in the struggle.

When the bugles gave the signal that the truce was ended, I saw *two* pairs of brothers clasp hands in farewell, and go in opposite directions, after such a meeting, it was with seeming reluctance that the firing was resumed; and even next day it seemed less vicious than before.

The policy of the enemy had shown itself to be a close and vigorous siege. He had become satisfied that he could not carry our works by storm. Hence he began to fortify his position, keeping up a heavy cannonade from the land while his mortar fleet threw shells into the city. A steady fire of sharpshooting was one of his most annoying as well as most destructive proceedings. Day or night there was little variation and almost no cessation.

On Thursday, 28th, the Federal ironclad "Cincinnati," came down the river below the bend and engaged our batteries along the shore. The contest was soon decided. Her crew could only run her to the opposite bank and save themselves when she went to the bottom, in shallow water, however. No other gunboat or ironclad attempted to cope with our shore batteries after that, though the mortar boats above the bend continued to throw shells into the city.

On Friday 29th, about 5 o'clock P.M. the enemy opened the most furious fire of artillery, on our lines and in the city, that I had ever heard. This continued for about an hour. On Saturday afternoon, the performance was repeated, and at 3 o'clock

A. M. on Sunday 31st it was resumed and continued till daylight.

We fired not a shot in reply! In the trenches, we had orders to fire no gun, unless the enemy came within 200 yards of our works. Hence along our front there was seldom a gun fired (after the first week) even in response to the sharpshooters.

To attempt an artillery duel were madness. Every gun we had in position was commanded by several heavier and better pieces. Hence any gun we could place, was speedily dismounted and every earthwork we could construct was promptly battered down. At many points too, our lines were exposed to an enfilading fire.

Just here it may be well to glance at our condition from another standpoint.

On the evening of the 18th of May, we were exhorted to hold the place for only twelve hours longer, being assured that Gen. Johnston would join us, by that time, at the head of a heavy force. We were repeatedly informed that he was coming!, that dispatches had been received from him stating that he had gained important victories, and that the siege would surely be raised in two or three days at farthest. This was repeated so often and the men were so often disappointed that they naturally became skeptical and despondent. In our regiment (I knew nothing of the sentiment prevailing in any other) a willingness to capitulate, soon became quite prevalent. They realized that they were starving; they saw themselves surrounded by a force five times greater than their own; they beheld the enemy entrench himself and build stronger and better forts than ours; and they saw their comrades being shot down every day, *while they were not permitted to fire a gun!* They were worked all night building a parapet or mounting a gun that dared not fire a shot, only to see their work demolished before the day was an hour old! They had experienced all this, and had no confidence in the assurances of their officers. They saw nothing before but death or a prison after weeks of gnawing, debilitating hunger, while all the glory of their achievements, and all the praise of their fortitude and all the honors of their unavailing heroism and devotion to duty would be heaped upon the heads of those who NEVER SAW THE FOE.

Who shall blame them if brave spirits did despond? Who shall wonder if, at times, the *man* triumphed over the *soldier,* and he longed in his heart to give up the doomed city, and *go home for a while and rest?* And yet, if he expresses such a thought, away he must go to jail! If he grumbles at his fare, he must be reprimanded! If he ventures to reply he must be pun-

ished! All this and more have I seen. Without boasting, I can say that I did not entirely despond during all those dreary days.

The enemy in building his forts had constructed embrasures to protect his cannoniers, while we had nothing on the whole line except loose earth and bags of dirt thrown up during the night to be scattered before they were half completed. Already his sappers and miners were at work. One of his heavy guns enfiladed the right of our Regiment, and we had already lost several men.

On the night of Monday, June 1st, the city was set on fire by the enemy's shells, and one square was burned. It was a magnificent spectacle from our lines, but a sad one. Frequently in the night we watched these mortar shells. From the flash of the [1] beheld them rise, go streaming across the sky like a flying meteor describe a great curve and pitch headlong to the earth, gathering momentum as they fell. Sometimes they bursted high in mid-air, with a detonation like thunder, sometimes exploding near the ground, and they buried themselves in the earth and tore out great holes, when the explosion came.

W. J. Manning of our company was shot through the chest by a minnie ball on Wednesday, June 3rd. He was a litter bearer and was passing in the rear of his own company when he was shot. I distinctly heard the ball strike the ground after passing through his body, when it ricochetted and went whizzing onward as though it had met no obstruction. I helped to carry Manning to the rear. At a little spring we rested him a little. He requested some one to pray for him. One of the little group at the spring, a stranger to me, responded. A few of us knelt down, with bursting shells and whistling bullets above our heads, and the stranger earnestly plead for mercy for the dying man before us.

Realizing that his wound was mortal, he entreated me to take a last message to the dear ones at home: "Tell my old father, Pitt, when you see him, that I died at my post. Tell him I tried to discharge my duty as a soldier. Tell my mother, I loved her to the last. And my dear wife and little children, Pitt, remember me to them, and tell them how gladly I would have seen them before I died. Take a husband's and a father's blessing, it is all I have to leave them!"

We bore him away and placed him in the surgeon's care, and I never saw him more. He lingered two or three days before he died.

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[1] "Bursting shells we" is probably the omission.

On the afternoon of the same day, June 3d, about sunset, we distinctly heard heavy firing in an Easterly direction, and conjectured at once, that Gen. Johnston was coming at last. *How high rose the hopes of our men!* and how eagerly we listened for a renewal of the fight on the morrow! But we heard it no more, and in a day or two the men were as despondent as ever.

Between midnight and daylight on the 5th and 6th of June, our right was furiously bombarded for an hour or two each morning. It was also a favorite, or at least a common performance of the enemy at this time to "shell the pickets," during the night. It was annoying, but our regiment had no one killed on the picket line, by these shells. Capt. Wm. H. Adair of Co. "E" 4th Miss. Reg't, was killed at one of our picket posts at daybreak on the 5th. He was the field officer of the night and was making his last round when he was struck. His was a choice spirit, and at the surrender a neat monument erected by his company, marked his grave in the city cemetery. Sleep on, gallant soldier, till the archangel's trumpet shall summon thee to leave thy dreamless bed!

On the same morning our Reg't was called on to give up one of its bravest men. Adjutant James C. Porter, was shot through the head by a minnie ball. He never spoke again, though he lingered many hours ere he died. Few men seemed more reckless of danger on the battlefield than he, and few seemed cooler or more self possessed. When the shot flew thickest, and the din of battle rose highest, when the air was heavy with the odor of smoke and blood, his eyes would dilate and his bosom heave as though he gloried in the carnage. * * * * He is dead. The Father is long suffering to usward, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin.

The 31st La. Reg't had a picket fight on the night of the 8th. Our picket lines were often only a few feet from those of the enemy, and at this point they were close together. The Federals had dug some pits for their own protection. On the night in question, our pickets, being first on the ground took possession of these pits and held them till about 10 o'clock P. M. when they were finally driven out after fighting a whole regiment for half an hour.

Another one of Co. "B" died that day at the Regimental Hospital. Wm. Erasmus Carter, after a long illness passed away. In the *unwritten* records of the Confederate Armies, are few records cleaner than his. No boy, (for he was only a boy) more cheerfully assumed a task or faced a peril than he. Both he and Manning were sons of Baptist preachers.

Immediately to the left our company was a redoubt, where we had a 32 pound Parrott gun, when the siege began. This gun after four or five days was bursted into fragments. I was looking on when the lanyard was pulled. The concussion was terrific, and as the smoke lifted I expected to see dead men all around; but strange to say not a man was hurt. A sixty-four pound Columbiad was then mounted in its place, which did little service however. Two or three carriages were shot to pieces, and had to be replaced; and though we worked at it every night, it was fired less than once a day. Our whole night's work often destroyed by sunrise next morning. The Federals had a ten-inch rifled gun trained directly upon this redoubt, and as we worked at night, we kept one man watching for the Flash, and at the signal all "lay down." This gun was also frequently fired against the bank behind which we fought. The size and momentum of the ball was such as to drive it through several feet of earth, and burst in our midst. A fragment of one of these shells wounded Lotan Sullivan in the thigh, on the 11th. He was also a "litter-bearer."

On another occasion a shot from this gun proved very annoying to some of us. It was dusk, our stint of food had been distributed, and we were in the act of eating. A little perhaps two spoonsful of molasses had been issued to each man, and George and Stephen R. and I had ours together on a plate. Just then a shot from this heavy gun was fired. It struck our works about a foot from the top, came through, scattered a few boards we were using for a shade, and covered us completely in dirt. When we scratched our food, our molasses, and our shreds of fresh beef were entirely ruined. Our "pea-bread" was intact, however, barring the "grit" that adhered to it.

On Sunday June 14th, there was rapid firing at some point on our right. We were informed subsequently that a mine had been sprung under our lines, and that the enemy endeavored to force his way into the breach caused by the explosion. He was repulsed, however.

And so the days wore on;—each one almost a repetition of the one that preceded it. The long, hot, dreary days, and nights of toil and danger were telling on the men. Emaciated by hunger, worn out by constant watching and utterly skeptical as to any promised hopes of relief, their despondency deepened, and they felt more keenly than ever, how useless it was to prolong the struggle. They heard no sound from one sunrise till the next save the crack of the rifle, the boom of the cannon, the screech of the shells and the "whizz" of bullets.

Our world lay inside those beleaguered lines, and a dreary world it was! How often, when on the silent picket line, the thoughts would revert to the homes we had left in that other world outside, and an intense yearning for those peaceful scenes would come over us! And yet, amid it all, there dwelt in my heart a feeling that it was good to die for freedom.

How anxiously we listened, how fervently we wished for some token of relief, but we listened and wished in vain. None save those who were there will ever fully comprehend our experience during those monotonous days. There was an unrest, *a fever of the mind,* intensified by the pangs of hunger, that utterly baffles my poor powers of description, and makes the whole seem unreal.

Was it any wonder that the heart grew callous as to the things of eternity? And yet I did feel condemned in the sight of God, and in order to turn away His wrath, I strove to lead a better life. I read the New Testament a great deal, but its gracious promises were not for me, and the condemnation still remained.

But to resume my meager record. Shortly after midnight on the morning of Saturday, June, 20th, there was heard an unusual bustle around the enemy's lines. Wagon trains were moving, drums and fifes were heard and there seemed to be a sound of the tramping of many feet. About 3 o'clock A. M. a furious bombardment was opened all around the lines which was kept up for about six hours.

During these days I read Marion Harland's "Moss Side," having read "Nemesi's" a week or two previously.

I had also quite recently read "Zanoni" by Bulwer Lytton. Comment on these books is useless, I was best pleased with "Zanoni," I had also read "Great Expectations" by Charles Dickens since the siege began.

On Sunday morning, June, 21st, two men in Co. "G" immediately on the right of our Co. were struck by the same Minnie Ball. It passed entirely through one's loins and entered the abdomen of the other inflicting a fatal wound in each. The men were brothers-in-law.

Thursday, 25th, in the afternoon, the enemy began to show himself in great numbers all along our front, as though he intended an assault, and in a few minutes there was a tremendous explosion to our right followed by a desperate charge. A mine had been sprung, and from where we were, we could see the dust mingled with timbers and the bodies of men. The charge was

beaten back with great loss to the assailants, greater by far than ours by the explosion. Two or three other mines were subsequently sprung, but no serious assault was made.

About this time a personal incident occurred that I venture to relate. On the left of our Reg't, was a small detachment of the 12th La. Reg't. They were required to maintain one picket post after night. One night after I had placed our regimental pickets I desired to ascertain if those of the 12th La. were in line with ours. Not finding any one I gradually made my way toward our breastworks, and at the base of the hill, less than thirty feet of our main line, I found them, a Lieut., and three or four men. The first intimation I had of their proximity, (for it was a dark night) was the click of the hammers as they cocked their guns. I made no halt, and a moment after two men jumped on me and ordered me to surrender. It required considerable "talk" to convince them that I was not a Yankee.

After I had "proven my identity," the Lt. began to reprimand me for my rashness in passing in front of the pickets. I silenced him by the assurance that I should report the fact that he had not placed his pickets on a line with the others.

I did report the matter, and when the pickets were sent out next evening there was a special order requiring the pickets of the 12th La. to be posted in line with the others.

It was now a common topic of conversation that the garrison was to cut its way out of Vicksburg. From certain indications, I feel convinced that some of our leaders did seriously contemplate such an undertaking. In view of the condition of the men, such an attempt would have been utter madness. We were wholly unfitted for such exploits because of the weakness from hunger and the stiffness of limb engenered [1] by weeks of crouching behind our works.

When the siege began, we were receiving one third of a ration of meat, and about two thirds of a ration of meal. This was soon greatly reduced. In lieu of the cornmeal, we had cow peas ground and made into bread. This bread after being baked was about the color of an Indian, and a few hours after being baked would, on being broken, show a substance resembling spiders webs, which would stretch a foot or more before finally breaking. For a time we had fresh beef instead of bacon, and for a few days at one time we had rice bread issued to us. Then the bread ceased altogether. Our ration then consisted of about one teacup full of boiled peas and a small bit, perhaps about two

[1] engendered

ounces of bacon. For several days before the capitulation, we had, instead of the bacon about 3 or 4 ounces of *Mule meat.*

Curl the lip in derision if ye will, ye dainty epicures, but I ween ye never tasted a morsel more sweet than *"Mule meat and peas"* was to us! The flesh of the mule seemed of coarser grain, but more tender than that of the ox, and had a decidedly "horsey" flavor. To starving men, however, it was very good, I have strong reason to believe that a dog had been eaten in a La. Reg't. a long time before any mule beef was issued to us, and I know that a mule killed near our line the first week of the siege, was partly cut up and presumably eaten by some of our men. And as to the peas! I have wondered, while eating them, if I would ever again find anything else that tasted so well.

Each regiment, or each company in fact, had its detail of cooks, who received the rations, cooked them and distributed them to the men, bringing them up to the lines about dusk. Often have I seen men so hungry that when the rations came, they would eat the last morsel allotted them at once, and not leave even a crust to stay the pangs of hunger till another twenty-four hours had passed.

Norvel Rodgers and J. H. Ware were the cooks for our company, and well did they perform the duty assigned to them.

On Friday, July 3d, about 8 o'clock A. M. a flag of truce was sent out, and by 10 o'clock A. M. the firing around the line had principally ceased. It was renewed about 3 o'clock P. M. and continued for about an hour, when it ceased altogether. Numberless conjectures were indulged in as to what was on foot. I felt assured that negotiations for a surrender were in progress; but when I expressed such a conviction, I was hooted at by the regimental and company officers. Some of them even went so far as to state in detail the object of the truce and the result of the negotiations. It would be amusing, if not so repugnant to candor, to witness the subterfuges resorted to to keep the men in ignorance of things of an unpleasant nature. The policy may be a wise one, but my experience has never demonstrated its wisdom.

That night, while on the picket line, I endeavored to look the whole matter calmly in the face. I realized more forcibly than I had ever done before, the strategetic importance of the position we held, and the magnitude of its loss to the Confedercy. But the more I reflected on the matter the firmer grew the conviction that we were prisoners—that perhaps we would be paroled, and could go home.

The morning of the 4th dawned clear and serene. The can-

non's roar and rifle's crack were hushed, the pall of smoke was lifted, and the sun rose up in a cloudless sky. Even then, the memories of the day could stir the despondent heart, and the blood ran quickly at the thought of what the day meant to the American people. But, oh, how burned the haggard cheek with shame and indignation to realize *that* on that day of all others Vicksburg should be surrendered! Why could not the deed have been consummated yesterday or tomorrow?

At an early hour we were informed that terms of capitulation had been agreed upon, and about ten o'clock A. M. we performed the humiliating task of marching in front of our works and stacking arms in full view of the enemy, and under the direction of a Federal officer. Some of us wept as we did this for we realized that this was the end of all our sacrifices. For this ignoble ending, we had fought, had watched, had hungered and shed our blood, and many a brave comrade had gone to an untimely grave. Thus perished the glory we had so dearly won —thus had fallen the confederate Saragossa. To intensify the humiliation of the men, was the suspicion—to many it was a conviction, if they expressed themselves correctly—that our Commanding General *had been false to the flag under which he fought.*

I need not dwell upon the time intervening between our surrender and the reception of our paroles. The terms of the capitulation were briefly these: All the officers to keep their side arms and the field officers to retain their horses.

Shortly after the stacking of our arms, the Federals marched into the city. It was gratifying to listen to the encomiums upon the endurance and bravery of the surrendered garrison that fell from the lips of the Federal soldiers. Not one time did I hear a soldier say, "We have *taken* Vicksburg!" Often did I hear such expressions as, "We thought you had three, or at least two, strong lines of works, and men enough to occupy them. We find only one slender line manned by skirmishers. You have made a wonderfully brave defense."

On the 5th bountiful rations were issued to us, and on the 6th the paroling commenced. Our regiment was paroled on Friday 10th, and Saturday 11th Smith's Division marched outside the lines. Our baggage was inspected before we passed the lines.

Belonging to Capt. Magee, was a negro man who was as desirous of going home as any of us. He had asked for a parole every day since the surrender—had been put off on pretext or another, and he was at the lines with the rest of us, but without any written permission to pass them. We formed in a mass around him

as we passed between the sentinels, but before we were entirely clear of them one of them saw the negro, and elbowing his way among us, siezed the negro by the collar, and led him out of the ranks. Lt. Chamberlin, acting Asst. Q.M. brought his negro through the lines by having him lie down on the bottom of the wagon bed and piling boxes of crackers around him.

It is not amiss to state just here, that our regimental flag was also brought away. It was silken flag and was presented to Co. "A" when it first went into the field. It was now a mass of shreds and rags. In fact most of it had been shot away, but Capt. Sublett took the tattered thing from its staff, wrapped it around his body under his shirt, and thus brought it away.

As soon as we had passed the sentinels, the Louisiana Regiments of our Brigade, disregarding the commands and expostulations of their officers, set their faces homeward and filed to the right. The officers appealed to the Federal guard, and were laughed at in reply.

For fourteen months we had been defending the Hill City, but now we were leaving it in the hands of the foe.

I will briefly notice our trip homeward. On Saturday night we bivouacked near Mt. Alban, Sunday morning we found that all of Co. "B" had "straggled forward" during the night, except Capt. Magee, Lt. Lott, Stephen and George R, and myself. Norvell R.—a brother of S. and G. a member of the 7th Miss. Battalion, who was wounded and had been unable to march with his command, was also with us. We had been ordered to report at Raymond, and the fear of being sent to Parole camp from that place under guard, was the cause of the great stampede. Some of the company who had fallen out of line the previous afternoon soon came up. Continuing with the "rabble" (for no order was attempted) we crossed the Big Black River on a pontoon bridge where we encountered the last Federal guards. Some four or five miles the three Robertsons and I left the main road turning to the right. During the afternoon we passed the fine country place of John T. Watson. It was now deserted, the Federals having been there that day. We also passed the plantation of Dr. Phillips. That night we slept under an oak near where Loring's Division had a skirmish with the enemy in May.

Leaving Raymond to one side we steered for Crystal Springs. That day (Monday 13th) we passed the hamlet of Dry Grove, and slept in an outhouse belonging to Mrs. Wade, about 8 miles west of Crystal Springs. Tuesday, 14th we passed the last named place, on the N. O. & J. R. R. This seemed to be a business place and surrounded by well situated clay soil.

That night we stopped with a Mr. Catchings whose unfeigned and unstinted hospitality was touching to us. It was also a house of mourning. Two noble boys had gone forth at the call of duty, and both had fallen in Sunday's fight at Shiloh. May God bless both the Father and the Mother!

Mr. Catchings sent negroes and horses to convey us to Georgetown on the Pearl River. This was a place of some importance before the railroad was built, as it was a shipping point for a great deal of Cotton by way of the River.

After we had crossed the River, it was decided that Stephen and I should go on ahead of the other two, reach home one day sooner, and send horses back to meet them. So we parted company about 10 o'clock, A. M. Wednesday 15th.

Passing Westville in Simpson County, we spent the night with Mr. McCollum, father-in-law of Lt. Buchanan. We were well entertained here. Next morning Lt. B. (for we had already passed most of our company), procured a carriage and taking us in it, put us down at his place about 10 O'clock A. M. After forming the acquaintance of his lovely wife, and dining with the family, we were sent ten miles further on horseback, and just at nightfall, I reached my father's door, after an absence of fourteen months. N. and G. reached their homes of the next day.

After resting a few days, we four, in accordance with a plan formed after we left Mr. Catchings, (in fact he suggested it) made a horseback trip to the crossing of Rocky Creek some four miles from Ellisville, Miss. A Federal raid had been captured at that point, and Mr. Catchings in telling us about it, stated that it was commonly reported that all the pistols of the party had been thrown into a pond by the road side before they surrendered. We found plenty of signs of the fight and saw the grave of the killed, into which the hogs had rooted until a human foot and leg was exposed to view; but though we waded across the pond time after time, touching every square foot of the bottom perhaps, we found no pistols.

In August, beginning Saturday 8th, there was a series of meetings at Leaf River Church, W. E. Sheppard was Pastor and did most of the preaching, though E. L. Carter preached two or three times. The meeting was continued till Wednesday 12th. The second day of the meeting I became much interested in my soul's welfare, but it was only during the last public service that I was enabled to lay hold on Christ as my Savior. This event so changed the purpose of my life, in fact, that hence-

forward my Journal is more a record of religious experiences than of anything else.

After reaching home in July, we learned that the Vicksburg garrison had been granted a furlough of forty days by a Presidential proclamation. In the latter part of August another proclamation was published declaring all paroles given to the two places as null and void, and commanding the garrisons of Vicksburg and Port Hudson to repair to Parole Camp at once. I shall leave for camp again in a few days, reporting, I suppose, at Demopolis, Alabama.

At. Home. August. 30, 1863.

Enterprise, Miss., Sept. 5, 1863. Last Wednesday, Sept. 2nd, I left home again. During the day I past the spot where I taught school in 1860. I stopped a while and let memory dwell on things of the past; and those thoughts held more of pain than of pleasure.

I arrived at this place yesterday afternoon, having learned before my arrival that a Parole Camp for Mississippi troops was located here. None of my Regiment has reported yet, and being directed to go to the 4th Mississippi Reg't. I found a partial acquaintance in the person of Jas. Barnes, who has a brother in our Company. With him I am messing. (* * * *)

At Home, Oct. 4, 1863. (As several pages of my Journal are lost covering the events of September, I can but briefly notice what has taken place.)

On Sept. 9th, I obtained a pass to visit an Uncle, Hon. Drury Bynum, who lived some twelve miles from Enterprise. I went by rail to Quitman, however. The time spent with him and his pleasant family passed quickly and I returned to Camp on the 13th.

Some of the regiment had come in by this time, and in a few days F. E. Collins and John Barnes of our company arrived. Our mess was getting so large, that a division was necessary, and as Barnes and Collins preferred to remain with the former's brother, I went to some members of Co. "I" of our Reg't. (Cooking utensils were too scarce to mess alone). * * * *

I made application for the payment of some wages due me, and after several annoying delays, I finally drew four months pay. Major Clarke reported for duty about the 16th of the month, and for a day or two commanded the Brigade. On Saturday, 17th, the 46th Reg't was officially recognized as a separate organization, and on Monday, 19th, I was appointed Commissary Sergent. Not liking the position, I resigned after

a service of two days—Lt. Buchanan came in on the 20th. Gen. Baldwin arrived about the same time and stated that he would petition for our immediate exchange.

A new Brigade has been formed consisting of the 4th, 35th, 37th, 40th, and 46th Miss. Reg'ts. For the next few days we were much interested in the news from the bloody field of Chickamauga.

Sunday 27th, I attended preaching at the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Rutherford preached from Isaiah LV: 10-11. I am ashamed to say that I slept most of the time. On the 29th, I applied for a five days' furlough, and asked God to move the hearts of the officers to approve the application. I attended preaching that night, and as it was threatening rain I remained all night in the Methodist house of worship. Next morning I received my furlough *"approved." God had heard and answered my prayer.*

That night I went to Uncle Drury Bynums. He kindly loaned me a horse, and next day I reached another Uncle, Jonathan Anderson, from whose house I arrived at home on Friday afternoon. This is Sunday, and I expect to start on my return to Camp on Tuesday next.

In Camp, Thursday, Oct, 15th,—But little of interest has occurred since my last entry. On Monday, Oct. 5th, I attended a Gubernatorial election at Ochoha, and cast my first vote.

I left home again next morning. That night I stopped at the residence of J. L. Gandy, in Jasper County. Mr. G. was not at home, but I was well cared for. I reached Uncle Bynum's by noon, and found my cousin, Dr. J. M. Bynum, just arrived from Gainesville, Ala., and much afflicted with Rheumatism. Remaining with them over night, I came on here Wednesday 7th and found that another of Co. "B" Jasper Bond, had come in. They had formed a separate mess, and I, of course, went with them. Lt. Crawford had been here, and both he and Lt. Buchanan had gone home.

At Uncle Bynum's I saw a list of the killed and wounded in the 7th Miss. Reg't at Chickamauga, Among the killed were the names of two men with whom I had gone to school. They were Capt. G. A. Robertson, of Co. "G" and John H. Copeland of Co. "I."

Next day I went to the conscript camp to deliver some letters and expected to find Franklin R. but he was not in camp. Called at Mrs. W. P. Carter's and found that she was ill with Typhoid Fever. J. M. McRaney, of our company came in on the 11th. We are required to move our camps and place ourselves in Regimental order.

I have attended preaching nearly every night of late. Mr. Rutherford is generally the preacher. He is preaching in the Baptist meeting house. His sermons are full of the fat of the Gospel, and are calculated to build up the Lord's "little ones," as well as to awaken Sinners. I was much interested in two sermons, one on "Predestination" and one on "Free Agency," and with his statement that no finite man could reconcile the two doctrines, but that God could.

Sweeter than any earthly voice,
Or ought that makes the heart rejoice,
I've heard my Savior say to me,
"I will thy God and ransom be."
Oh teach me how to say "Thy will,
Thy Holy will, Oh Lord be done!"
Let Jesus all my longings fill,
Make me submissive as thy son.

Give me thy cleansing Spirit Lord,
Grant me thy grace divine;
Give me a knowledge of thy word.
Give me a love like thine.
Oh Jesus! could a sweeter name
Than that be sung in heaven?
Can angels claim so sweet a song,
As Eternity shall roll along,
As that to mortals given?

Wednesday. Oct. 21st: On Friday, 16th, we moved to our new camping place. The next day was the monthly preaching service at the Baptist house of worship. When I went in, Mr. Rutherford was just closing his "Inquiry Meeting." He introduced me to Dr. William Howard, the Baptist pastor. At 11 o'clock the latter preached from II Chronicles XXVI: 5, "As long as he sought the Lord, God caused him to prosper." Dr. Howard is not a brilliant man, nor an eloquent one, but he seems to have deeply drunk of the waters of salvation.

When an opportunity was given for uniting with the church, and the Congregation sang "Come ye that love the Lord," I went and took the designated seat. Five others all soldiers like myself, followed. When I finished telling of my new found hope in Christ, there were sobs and tears among the people. I was a stranger to every one there but I realized that I was in my Father's house, and that my brethren in Christ were around me. That night there was preaching again, and two others came for-

ward and professed a saving hope in [1] risen Saviour. On Sunday morning another one still applied for membership. This was James Carter, a son of Eld. W. P. Carter, deceased.

In the afternoon a large crowd assembled on the left bank of the Chickasahay River, just above the Bridge, to witness the ordinance of baptism. There were nine of us to be baptized, and while the people sang, "Am I a Soldier of the Cross?" one by one we went down into the water, and in obedience to the Master's command, were baptized in the "name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost." May it be typical of our "death unto sin and resurrection unto newness of life." At night there was preaching again, at the conclusion of which the Lord's Supper was administered. Thus in one day, I have participated in both the ordinances of the church of Christ.

On Thursday last we were reviewed by President Davis, accompanied by Gen. J. E. Johnston, Lt. Gen. Hardie, Maj. Gen. Torney and Brig. Gens. Hebert and Baldwin. It was a grand and imposing display of the pomp of war, and the glory of the world. Mr. Davis made a speech in town after the review, though I failed to hear him. S. J. Eaton of our company, reported today.

There is some dissatisfaction in camp because of rumors of exchange, and I understand several have gone home without leave.

Wednesday Nov. 4th: On the morning of Oct. 24th we were officially notified that the 4th and 46th Miss. Reg'ts. had been exchanged, with Gen. Pemberton and staff. I asked Col. Sears to detail me to go home and notify the officers and men of the company. The request was granted, and I started about noon. Reaching Uncle Bynums, I found his eldest son, Lt. J. H. Bynum at home on furlough, and spent the night very agreeably. Next morning was Sunday; My Uncle sent me a few miles on horseback, after which I proceeded on foot.

Just at Sunset I reached Tallahala Creek, and going a few miles further, supped with a Mr. Frank Ulmer, after which I again set forward. The night was pleasant, the road dry and I made good time. By midnight I was in the neighborhood of my old school house. Seeing some camp fires off the road (near Mr. Gunter's) and feeling sure that it was an encampment of Cavalry or of deserters, I resolved to investigate. I soon saw that it was cavalry, and approached the nearest camp fire where I saw a sentinel on duty. He did not see me till I came up close

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and spoke to him. After some moments conversation, I made a movement to go on, when I was informed that I would have to stay there till morning.

I soon had every officer on the ground, (two Lieutenants) aroused, and after considerable talk and some "bluffing" on my part, they allowed me to proceed, seemingly apprehensive that they had incurred some dire penalty by detaining a soldier in the execution of a duty for which he had been specially detailed.

I reached my father's in the forenoon, and as soon as I had dined, I mounted a horse and rode 20 miles to Capt. Magee's. We wrote orders till after midnight. Next morning I rode to Lt. Buchanan's a distance of twenty miles, where I ate dinner, and started for home, making a detour through the "Sullivan Hollow" neighborhood in Smith County, and arriving at father's a little after dark.

We were soon startled by a meteoric explosion which sounded like the bursting of a heavy shell, and an hour afterward a valuable dog belonging to my father was shot near the house, presumably by some deserter.

On Saturday 31st, I started back to camp. At sunset, I passed my old school house, and going some four or five miles further, I lay down in the woods and slept. An hour before day I was again on the march. Reaching Oak Bowery Church in Jasper County, a little before 11 o'clock, and learning that it was preaching day, I waited for the service. H. T. Jones, (Congregational Methodist) was the preacher. * * * *

I reached Paulding that night and was kindly cared for by a Mr. and Mrs. J. M. Bradley, the latter of whom is my cousin. On the afternoon of next day, (Monday 2nd), I reached camp and found that three others of the company had come in.

The Baptist meeting is still in progress. Dr. Howard has returned to his home in Gainesville, Ala., but Eld. N. C. Clarke, a missionary of the General Association is here preaching. I heard him last night, and considered it a helpful sermon. Alfred Prine and Jasper Bond of our Company, were baptized today. This morning, for the first time in my life, I attempted to lead in public prayer. Bro. J. L. Lattimore, who is an ordained minister living in this town, and who is a Serg't in the 37th Miss. Reg't, was conducting a prayer meeting and called on me to lead. *I tried!* with fear and trembling.

November 6th: Night before last I again heard bro. Clarke preach from the words "Lord, revive thy work." It was good to be there. Yesterday was a rainy day. I read some, slept

some, wrote some and spent a lot of precious time in idle dreaming.

They have just come in, a part of my company, Lts. Buchanan and Crawford, Stephen and George and about eight others arrived this afternoon. I am disappointed that so few have come.

Nov. 19th (Thursday): Before and after my last entry we were busy constructing cabins, and making preparations for cold weather. On Monday, 9th we received orders to be ready to march at a moments warning. All building was suspended, the companies were "ranked and sized" immediately, the Ordnance Serg't was forthwith dispatched for arms and accouterments, and the men were set to drilling. Altogether the camp presented a scene of great activity and real military bustle. Of course, rumors as to our destination were rife, and, as usual, were all wrong.

Four or five more of Co. "B" came in that day, Mr. Wm. Howell accompanying them. Through him I sent letters home. Next day, 10th just at nightfall Capt. Magee, Lt. Lott, and some others came in. The usual greetings incident to such an arrival were passed, and I had just "turned in", for the night, when *my father* rode into camp. He had undertaken to bring the luggage of two members of Co. "B" to camp. He had left them a few miles back, since it was necessary that he start on his return next morning. I went with him till I met four of the Co. among them, the Orderly Serg't.

Our marching orders had been countermanded, building was resumed, and drilling was kept up. On the 11th we were armed with Austrian Rifles.

On Sunday 15th, bro. Lattimore preached in our camp. He has made application to be appointed chaplain of our Reg't, and as a recommendation by the officers is necessary, this service was to afford them an opportunity of hearing him. Every one affixed his name to a paper I drew up, and when I last saw bro. L., he informed me that everything was moving along all right.

We have Brigade drill every afternoon, which is to keep up until further orders. I am acting Serg't. Major, and do not know when I can return to the Company. Capt. Magee is acting Lt. Col. and Capt. Heslip, Major.

About 35 of Co. "B." exclusive of officers are in camp.

Near Resaca, Ga. Nov. 30th—This cold morning I am seated near a big fire with the sun shining in my face, to bring up my Journal. On Sunday 22d, bro Lattimore preached in our Reg't. at 10 o'clock A. M. and at 2 o'clock P. M. Bro. E. L. Carter

preached, I think I never heard a better sermon in my life than the one in the afternoon. The text was "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things?"

That night we had orders to march next day. Considerable dissatisfaction was developed at this order, and several deserted from the different regiments. About dark we marched to the depot, and at ten o'clock we started. We had lost five men by desertion during the day, and George was sent to the hospital sick. At Shubuta, some four or five others got off,—among them Lt. Crawford and Stephen R.—I knew nothing of it till we reached Mobile, as I had secured the *whole top* of a box car, about the middle of the 4th Miss. Reg't. I slept but little during the night, as my position was an unsafe one in which to court the drowsy god.

Between Waynesboro and Winchester occurred one of those strange phenomena that baffle all attempts at solution. I was idly observing the objects as I passed them as well as the darkness would allow. Suddenly I became conscious that the scene was a familiar one. Surely I had seen it before, that Southeastern slope, those few stunted short leaved pines, the sparse undergrowth of oak and sumac and above all, an old field on my right! Each feature seemed as familiar to me as the premises at home. There, on that very spot, I once saw a *house on fire!* It was an old building, but I surely saw it burning. I vainly strove to remember when or how. It might have been a dream, but when or or where I dreamed it, I could not recall. I looked for the bare spot where the house had stood, but could not see it. Yet everything else,—even to a small brier patch near where the building burned was vividly even painfully real. The more I strove to solve the problem the more puzzled I became, and at last I gave it up as a hopeless task.

About 9 o'clock next morning we reached Citronelle, Ala. a celebrated Summer resort for the people of Mobile, and about thirty-three miles from that city. It is a pleasant looking place on a ridge of high pine hills. It was about noon when we landed in the Gulf city, as Mobile was often called.

From the depot we were marched directly to the wharf, where, at about 2:30 o'clock we went on board a steamer. Of course I saw but little of Mobile. Near the wharf were a couple of floating batteries, and an uncompleted structure which I was told was "monitor." Some fortifications below the city were visible, and away down the Bay arose a column of black smoke, as from a steamer. There was also a line of obstructions across the Bay not far below the City.

I did hope we would get out of sight of land, but in this I was disappointed. Soon after we started I observed a low lying mass of rather dark looking cloud in the North west, which seemed to be moving in our direction, and pretty soon the wind, which was blowing gently from the South, suddenly changed and a much colder and stronger wind came down from the North. The Bay now presented a beautiful spectacle, its surface being covered with white-capped dancing waves, which on striking the steamer threw their silvery spray over the lower deck.

It was about sunset when we debarked at Tensaw Landing on the East bank of the Tensaw River, and some thirty miles from Mobile. A train of cars was in waiting for us, and we were soon in the box cars, ready for transportation to any point in the Confederacy. Having slept but little the night before all hands went to sleep as soon as we started which was about dark. At daylight we were at Pollard, Ala, some fifty miles from Tensaw. We had been there since one o'clock A. M.—

Starting at daylight we ran for several miles through a poor pine woods composed of low ridges between which "bays" and gall-berry flats were greatly in evidence. Thirty miles from Pollard is Evergreen, a nice village and the county-site of Conecuh County. Here some of our boys, (a part of the 40th Miss. were on the train with us). became reckless and "charged" every pie-vender and cake basket they got a sight of, besides being guilty of some other boisterous conduct.

After a stay of half an hour, we pulled out and made a run of forty miles to Greenville, the county site of Butler County, where we made another half hour stop, and where the scenes of the morning were reenacted. Greenville is a nice looking town, and the first place of any size we had reached.

At 1 o'clock P. M. we left Greenville, and about ten miles further came to Fort Deposit, a town of some importance, and is, I think, in Lowndes County, and perhaps the county seat. No other place of importance was passed till we reached Montgomery, thirty miles further. It was dark when we reached the capital City of Ala. I was detailed at once as a Patrol guard where I remained till midnight when I was relieved. I made my headquarters at the Exchange Hotel, where I had barber to shave me. He cleaned only the "high places" of my face, and when he was done, I was most frightfully "ring-eyed." A man is liable to get smoked who rides 200 miles or more, on top of a box car.

From what I saw of Montgomery, I should pronounce it one of the wealthiest and cleanest cities in the South. The Legis-

lature, was in session, I think. After being relieved from gaurd duty I found my regiment at the "West Point Depot," in the Eastern part of the City.

About 8:30 oclock next morning, we pulled out for West Point, distant about 90 miles. It was a monotonous run that day. The first place of any importance we saw was Auburn, more than sixty miles from Atlanta. The next place of any importance is Opelika, which is rather a nice looking place. A branch road to Columbus, Ga. intersects the Montgomery and West Point road at this place. From some cause we stopped here some two hours, during which time three or four fat shoats were killed by the train, which kept moving back and forth on the track. In every case, however, a soldier had hold of the animal's hind legs when the accident occurred.

It was dark when we reached West Point so I did not see the town at all. From this point to the Florida line, the Chattahoochee River is the boundary between Alabama and Georgia, and I think the town is mostly on the Eastern side of the stream. Because of a difference in the gauge, we changed cars here, and soon started again.— Everybody went to sleep and I saw nothing of importance till we reached Atlanta, about 8 o'clock next morning.

It is said that we had orders to proceed no further than Atlanta, but through somebody's blunder we started toward Chattanooga about 11 o'clock A. M.—no one—not even the conductor seeming to know where we were going or by whose orders we were being moved. * * * * During our short stay in Atlanta, I remained at the depot, and saw but little of the City. It does not seem so nice a place as Mobile or Montgomery, yet I think it is more of *business* place than either. There are some extensive fortifications here, some of the formidable looking being along the Chattahooche River which runs a few miles West of the City.

Twenty-two miles after leaving Atlanta, we came to Marietta. I really think there are more beautiful girls in this town than in any other of its size in the Confederacy. And they seemed more patriotic too, for the road was lined on both sides, with them, and they cheered us as we passed. We had our old bullet tattered flag on a new staff, and it was carried by Tom Malone, a big Irishman in Co. "H," who waved it faithfully all the trip. At Marietta a beautiful young lady held a silken confederate flag and when our gallant Hibernian saluted her flag and she returned the salute, our boys fairly made the "welkin ring" with their shouts.

Ten miles further we reached Big Shanty, where we were

delayed some two hours by passing trains. There trains, laden with wounded soldiers, were running without any schedule, and were so close together that it was dangerous to make a start. We did start, however, and after proceeding about three miles came so near colliding with a south bound train that the two engines were only a few feet a part when brought to a stand still. We had to run backward to Big Shanty.

At Ackworth, the next Station, the next Station, we were delayed till dark. The conductor wanted to lie over here, but Col. Colbert would listen to no such proposal. Realizing something of the risk we ran, I committed myself to my Father's hands and slept soundly until morning.

By 8 o'clock A. M. we reached Dalton, Ga. about 97 miles from Atlanta. But long before this point was reached we had seen thousands of stragglers from Bragg's Army, which had been driven from before Chattanooga. Long trains of wagons were seen moving to the rear. At Dalton, the scene presented all the confusion incident to a retrograde movement of an army. There were hundreds of men without arms, separated from their commands, wagon trains with no one to direct them, and women and children with no one to protect them. All sorts of people were running hither and thither, *and it was a great place to hear the news.* There was not a cartridge—in that portion of our Brigade that was here, yet we were within a few miles of the enemy, and expected to be rushed to the front.

At this juncture Col's. Barry (of the 35th) and Sears came up, and the former assumed command of the Brigade. After some two hours delay, it was arranged that that return to this place. We accordingly did so, arriving here about 4 o'clock P. M. on Saturday 28th.

Resaca is about 85 miles from Atlanta, and is in Gordon County. It stands on the right bank of the Oostanaulta River, in a mountainous region. There is no town here. Large numbers of Government wagons are in sight though yesterday and today they are moving toward Dalton, and this morning I saw several pieces of Artillery moving toward the front, and it is probable that Gen. Bragg will retreat any further. All the regiments of the Brigade are here now,—also Gen. Baldwin.

The weather is bitterly cold, and the men seem to be low spirited. This feeling is said to pervade the entire army of Tennessee. I do not know exactly what has happened at the front. That our army was driven away from Chattanooga is very evident, and from the confusion we witnessed, I infer it sustained a very severe repulse. I learn that our friends in

Co. I, 7th Reg't, are all safe. If we remain here long I will try to visit them. We are now supplied with ammunition and may be sent to the front.

Friday, Dec. 4th. A rainy cold day. We have "stretched a blanket", and have a tolerable shelter from the rain. I have seen many a soldier entirely barefoot and thinly clad since I came here. To such, this is indeed bitter weather. We have organized a prayer meeting in the Regiment. May God help us to be useful! * * * *

Dec. 6th. (Sunday)—Last evening in company with four others, I walked out a few miles from camp, and ate supper at a farm house, where we had an abundance of substantial fare. It is said this morning that we will move to the front at once.

Dec. 9th (Wednesday)—We are still here, doing nothing. We have been informed many times that we would go to the front or back to Miss. right away, but so far all such rumors have proved groundless.

Before we left Enterprise, an Examining Board with Col. Sears as President, was appointed to examine all officers in the Brigade entitled to promotion by election or Seniority. * * * *

The elections resulted as follows: Co. "B" J. T. Duckworth, Co. "F", R. N. Rea, (son of the Capt) and Aaron Roberts, Co. "G", J. H. Linbough, Co. "H", Rufus White, and Co. "I" Jefferson Bell, and S. S. Turner. * * * * Rainy and cold yesterday and last night. Today the sun is shining and it is the mildest day we have experienced since coming here.

I have been reading in the "Acts" and wished to converse on many points, but there has been no one present who feels enough interest in matters to converse about them. Since leaving Enterprise I have been messing with Lt. Buchanan, Serg'ts. McLaurin and Pickering, Wilkinson, and J. T. and Z. F. Duckworth. An order from Gen. Hardie directs that two men from each Co. be detailed as Company Cooks. For some reason, the measure is regarded with disfavor.

Dec. 11th (Friday) Nothing of interest to record. Our prayer meeting last night was a precious time. * * * * Threatening rain today.

Dec. 14th (Monday) Today I am twenty-four years old! What a multitude of emotions are evoked by the thought! What an eventful year it has been to me! Above all others is the thought, "I am born again". The family record gives Dec. 14th, 1839, as my natal day, in the record of my soul it is Aug. 12, 1863.

Twenty-four years, how long they seem.
When all untrod the pathway lies!
How frought with many a gilded dream,
And crowned with many a golden prize!

Yet when we view the vanished past,
Its withered hopes and broken toys;
We find its flight has been as fast,
And fleeting as its blighted joys.

The buried past, though with it fled,
The beauty of life's opening flowers,
Its memory doth a fragrance shed,
O'er all the present's mournful hours.

Twenty-four years. Life's brittle thread
Of greatest length one-third is spun;
And though so many years are sped
My real life is just begun.—

For all these years I lived in sin,
And dared the vengeance from above,—
I felt no work of grace within,
Nor cared I for a Savior's love.

But God in mercy sought me out,
And sealed me His by grace divine,
His holy word, I cannot doubt,
And I am His and He is mine.

Although so old, I yet am young,
In living in this wondrous grace;—
Hosannas now delight my tongue,
'Tis joy to sing my Saviour's praise.

And since by grace I'm called to be,
Heir of the promise of His word.
There's work for even such as me,
Work in the vineyard of the Lord.

O Father! give me strength to do,
The task Thou'dst have to fulfill.
Oh! give me love and patience too,
And resignation to Thy Will!

* * * * Heavy rains last night, and a cold north wind today.

Dec. 16. (Wednesday). Our regiment worked on a road yesterday leading toward Dalton. We have been ordered to have

company drill, but cannot find a level place big enough for a drill ground. * * * *

December 20th (Sunday)—It is night! Another Sunday is gone! We are in the woods, and the tumult of the camp is hushed in sleep. Late in the afternoon of my last entry, it began to rain, and about midnight we had a storm of wind that made a plaything of our frail shelter, accompanied by a perfect deluge of rain. In a moment we were soaked, and as we could have no fire, we had to stand or sit or lie in the water and mud till daylight, and the rain still pouring down. It was truly a disagreeable time. As Lt. Buchanan, some others and I were huddled around the place where our fire had been, and Lt. B. was grumbling at our case, Sergt. McLaurin (who had covered his face with something and was still lying down) called out "Yes! that's what you get by voting for 'peaceable Secession'!" "Yes, by George! and I'd do it again!" replied Buchanan as quick as a flash, and he grumbled not another word that night.

* * * *

Friday, the 40th Reg't, was sent to this place as pickets. Yesterday (Saturday), we worked the road again, and at night received orders to come here this morning. We did so, and are now in the woods. It is a pretty location for a camp, as there is plenty of wood and water. We will erect cabins at once, though our officers still think we will return to Mississippi. We are five or six miles from Resaca, and not far from some high mountain peaks. This place seems to have two local names, to-wit: "Snake Gap" and "Sugar Valley." As we have seen neither snakes nor Sugar today, the proper name is still a matter of uncertainty.

The distance to Resaca, the nearest station, and the desperate condition of the roads over which rations are to be hauled is the greatest objection to the encampment.

Some changes have occurred in our regiment. Lt. Col. Easterling has resigned, Clarke will be promoted. Rea will become Major, and Magee Sen. Capt. This entitles our company to the right of the Regiment, and we are in our new position.

My fire is burned out, the moon is going down in the west, and with regret I close my book to seek a soldier's bed, and dream a soldier's dreams.

Dec. 25th (Friday)—Christmas again, It is a cold cloudy day, and the wind is wailing through the valley like a spirit of unrest. We have completed our cabin except the chimney. It seems we

came to this place to keep the roads in order, rather than to do picket duty,—our regiment and the 40th working on alternate days. This is *our* day to work, but we have a holiday.

I will also state that this is not "Snake Gap" at all. At one time a railroad was graded through this valley, but there is no evidence that a track was ever laid. I think it leads from Rome to Dalton.

* * * *

Yesterday, I climbed the rocky heights North West of us, and beheld some grand scenery; but, on the whole, I was disappointed. After a walk of three miles, with considerable climbing, I reached the highest point of land in several miles perhaps. To the North, East and South, were valleys with miles of alternate woodland and farms, I could see the villages of Resaca and Tilton, could catch glimpses of the Oostanaulta, and away down the railroad I saw a train of cars and its engine. How it seemed to creep along! Its rush and roar did not reach my ears at all. Westward was a wild succession of peaks and rocks, but not one vestige of the presence of man.—

Dec. 27th—Sunday and raining again. A dreary dreary day, and, as usual I have indulged in such dreams as fancy chose to paint, We are snugly sheltered, and we ought to feel thankful to God that we are not like thousands of others who today are exposed to all this inclement weather.

Yesterday on dress parade, an order was read that one man in every 30 would be furloughed home. The fortunate one in our Company will probably be selected by lot.

* * * *

Col. Sears has directed that all non-commissioned officers be examined as to their qualification for places they fill. Major Rea, Capts. Magee and Burgess and Lt. Wiles constitute the examining Board. An effort has also set on foot by Col. Sears, to send the commanding officer of every company home as a recruiting officer. I hope he may succeed.

Dec. 28th (Monday)—Gen. Baldwin inspected us today. We drew for a furlough yesterday afternoon, and Sert'. H. H. Bass was the lucky man. Rained heavily last night. Becoming cold.

Dec. 29th (Tuesday)—Just twelve months ago today was fought the battle of Chickasaw Bayou.

We held an election today to fill the vacancy occasioned by Lott's removal. A. H. McLaurin was elected.

1864

(Note—There is another gap in my Journal just here, several pages being lost of my original MS. I will fill the gap as well as I can.)

We remained at Sugar Valley till the 16th of January. We were comfortably situated and our duties were not extra heavy. During our stay there I secured a pass to visit the 7th Miss. Reg't. at Dalton. In company with Serg't Pickering, I started during the afternoon of the 13th. Night overtook us and we had to stop with some Tennesseeans. Next morning we found the Reg't we sought, and spent the day with them very pleasantly.

I was also much gratified to have placed in my hands one day, the Commission of John Lee Lattimore, as Chaplain of the 46th Miss. Reg't. I lost no time in forwarding it to his address.

On Saturday, January 16th, we left our camp and proceeded to Resaca. On Sunday, 17th, we boarded the train for Atlanta. From there to West Point, thence to Montgomery by rail, and from that place to Mobile by steamboat followed without any breaks or stop overs,—but in a leisurely manner. We reached Mobile, Tuesday 26th, and marched out to Dog River Factory, where we erected some temporary cabins. Sometime either before or after we left Ga., Lts. Duckworth and McLaurin were examined and assigned to duty as 2d. and Jr. 2d Lts. of Co. "B", 46th Miss. Reg't. F. E. Collins was made Orderly Serg't.

Feb. 4th (Thursday)—I will briefly note one or two events. Yesterday morning in compliance with orders, we proceeded to man the fortifications below the city. Our Brigade occupied the extreme left of the line, and were therefore immediately on the Bay. When placed in position the right companies of each Reg't were deployed as skirmishers. While were deploying many of the ignorant people on the outskirts of the city, thought that fighting was about to begin. Seeing how badly frightened they were, some of the boys said and did things to add to their dismay. It was *funny* but it was not *right* to cause so much disquietude. We returned to camp about 2 o'clock P. M.—

Afterward,—when the drum beat for Dress Parade—a part of the Reg't, that is, nearly all of Cos. "H" and "K" stacked arms and refused to perform any more duty until they were paid, some, at least, of the wages due them. About 35 men were placed under guard, and taken to Brigade Headquarters. They are still in custody. We will have prayer meeting again tonight.

Feby. 12th (Friday)—I am on guard today. On Thursday 4th inst, we received orders to be ready to move at 4 o'clock next morning. Owing to lack of transportation facilities we did not leave our encampment till noon. Saturday, 6th, About 4:30 o'clock P. M. we started up the M. & O. R. R. our destination being understood to be Meridian, Miss.—

There are no towns of importance on the Railroad between the two places, except Enterprise and Shubuta. I will name some of the stations. First, of course, is Whistler, a suburb of Mobile. The next place is Citronelle, in the hills thirty three miles North of the City. Many of the wealthy families of Mobile have summer residences here, and there are some fine cottages to be seen. The next Station is Deer Park, I understand the principal business here is shipping venison. There is no town. The next Station is Escatawpa, then State Line, about sixty five miles from Mobile. Then comes Bucatunna, Winchester (the County-site of Wayne County, Miss.) then Waynesboro and Red Bluff. All these are on the Eastern side of the Chickasahay River. The next is Shubuta, the only town West of the River. This place has done a great deal of business, having shipped more produce than any other point on the road between 1856 and 1860. Next above Shubuta is Desoto, then Quitman and then Enterprise. It was with feelings of real pleasure that I approached the latter place. True it was night, and I did not expect to see a single face that I knew, yet there are pleasant associations connected with my stay there, my church membership is there—it was there God's people first welcomed me as one of them, and there I was baptized.

It is fifteen miles from Enterprise to Meridian and there is a little station called Oakatibba, I believe.

We arrived at Meridian about 4 o'clock Sunday 7th. We had been so crowded in the cars, and it had been so cold that we slept but little, and in a few minutes after stopping, we had plenty of fires burning. The vicinity of the depot was thronged with soldiers, awaiting transportation westward. As soon as it was daylight, I walked over the place, visiting our old encampment and other familiar spots. Some houses, but generally of a shabby sort had been erected since I was there before.

Ascertaining that we could not leave in several hours, I took occasion to visit Mr. McLemore who lives some 2½ miles East of town. With Mrs. McLemore, I left some clothing and about 175 MS. pages of this Journal. After partaking of a nice dinner I returned to my command.

(NOTE—It is proper to state here that Mrs. McLemore placed the MS. in one of her trunks, and on the approach of the Federals sent her trunks away. They were captured by the enemy and rifled of their contents. Some days afterward, a gentleman named Pickering (or Pickard) found a roll of MS. with my name on it, where a Federal detachment had spent the night. He kept it. The next May a soldier named Creel (who had just reached Camp) informed me of its whereabouts. I wrote to Mr. Pickering, and after a delay of some months, I received it in a mutilated condition. The entries for September 1863 and Jany. 1864 were entirely lost.)

That night Judge Harper of Covington County came to us. By him I sent letters home, which are perhaps the last I shall be able to send for some time hence. On Monday 8th all the Brigade except our Regiment was sent toward the front.—

I have omitted to state that a large force under Gen. Sherman had marched Eastward from Vicksburg, devastating the country through which he passed, and was at that time some 20 or 25 miles west of Meridian, and moving in that direction.

We were ordered to be at the depot at daylight next morning. We were there on time, but there was no train there to haul us. We were then ordered to be ready to move at 12:30 o'clock P. M.—

Long before the designated hour arrived we learned that we would return to Mobile. As Mississippians, we were greatly hurt at this announcement. We had come home as it were, to check the progress of the invader who was marching through the center of the State. With indignant hearts, we learned of his advance, and the wholesale destruction that attended it. We knew that our forces in his front were steadily falling back; but *now* the whole State was to be abandoned without a single blow. No wonder the hearts of her sons burned within them; and no wonder if they learned to distrust the policy that gave their homes to the torch and their families to the tender mercies of the foe. And all this time it was stoutly maintained that our force was greatly superior to that of the enemy.

Another feature we did not like was this: A large portion,—perhaps all—of Loring's Division, was composed of the Vicksburg garrison, and we knew that these troops had been sent to the rear; and, at the time, we understood that to mean that our leaders doubted the validity of the recent exchange.

All these things tended to demoralize us, and in the first heat of my indignation at the entire abandonment of my own State I resolved to leave the regular service, help organize an inde-

pendent command, and fight the enemy nearest my own home. I found that nearly the entire regiment, officers and all, viewed the matter as I did. After reflection, however, when I had grown more cool, I could not obtain my consent to abandon the Government in its dark hour. It is true, I believed that incapacity, if not worse, characterized the Department at Richmond, and many of the minor departments, that the Government as at present organized will fail to establish itself, and that if the war is continued a great while longer, it will be by small independent organizations in which each man will feel personally responsible for the success of every undertaking, yet I felt under such obligations to the "powers that be", that I could not turn my back on them yet. Heart and soul, as well as physically, I had enlisted in the Confederate service, my sympathies had been with the government so unfalteringly, and I had desired its success above any earthly thing beside so long and so ardently, that I felt it my duty to follow its standard to the bitter end.

In such a frame of mind we waited around the depot. By noon the rest of our Brigade had returned, having been only a few miles out, and the long afternoon dragged by.

About 10 o'clock P. M. we started, on our return, but so many had left the regiment that some companies were slimly represented. I knew that many of my own company would leave the train at Shubuta, so I remained awake till we had past that point. It was about 2:30 o'clock A. M. on the 10th when they left. I bade them farewell, and to the very last they begged me to go with them, promising to make me their leader, to make no stop at home, and not to go there if I would lead them against the foe. I doubt if I ever see one of them again, but *these men are neither traitors nor deserters!*

It was about 3 o'clock P. M. when we reached Mobile. The same afternoon we marched out to our former encampment. There are only about one hundred and fifty enlisted men in the Regiment, so many have gone. Company "B" numbers nine officers and all. The rest of the Brigade came in yesterday. All of the regiments have suffered more or less by desertion, if it may be called that.

Yesterday I went to the City. I saw much that interested me, yet I can not undertake a description thereof. Some of the streets have splendid buildings on them. I suppose Government street is the handsomest thoroughfare in the City. One of the imposing buildings on that street is used as a Female College now. I noticed several nice churches, though I went inside of none of them. Perhaps I was most interested in the "Soldiers

Library'' on Water Street. There is a large assortment of reading matter, books, pamphlets, magazines and news papers, all conveniently arranged, and seats and tables for writing. I was informed that it was fitted up at the personal expense of Rev. F. B. Miller, Post Chaplain, by whose exertions it is still kept open.

On my return in the afternoon, I visited two cemeteries, in both of which I saw fine tombstones and costly shafts. Perhaps the most suggestive of any I saw, was a white polished shaft standing on a grayish colored pedestal. There was no carving of any sort, to mar the polished stone. On one side was chiseled the name ''Bessie'',—on the opposite side ''Eighteen''. As I walked among these stately shafts, all commemorating the virtues of those who slept beneath, I asked myself if they slept any more sweetly than the uncoffined dead on half a thousand battle fields. It was with pensive feelings I left those cities of the Dead.

Brother Lattimore, our Chaplain, about the last of January—having started to Georgia about the time we left, and missed us on the way.—We left him at Enterprise. He wishes to move his family to a safer place.

Feb. 15th (Monday)—Nothing of special interest since my last entry. Several more of the regiment have come in, amongst them one more of the Co. ''B''. The Regiment now numbers about 225, including officers. But those who are here are dispirited, and can not fight, they, as well as those who left us, would have made a splendid fight in Mississippi, but since the whole State was given up without striking a single blow, the men have lost confidence in the Government, and especially in its representatives. Most of those who have left us, have left the service for good, so far as the regular army is concerned.

It is said that Mobile is to be evacuated. Such a step would, perhaps, be a wise one, for what benefit it would be to the Confederacy, after all the Railroads in Mississippi are in the hands of the enemy is more than I am able to see. It is urged that it is the key to the Alabama River. This is true, but if the Federal column now at Meridian is so minded it can push on to Selma, and control the River there. We may allow ourselves to be besieged, and have the Vicksburg tragedy enacted over again, but viewed from my standpoint, it will not pay to do this. Besides, we can be starved out here though the enemy never comes in sight of the city.

The enemy has Meridian. It is reported that a heavy force is moving from Huntsville, Ala. to form a junction with Sherman

at Selma or Montgomery. If this be so, and another column should move from Pensacola to Pollard, we would be entirely cut off from all sources of supplies. It is plainly in evidence that the region contiguous to Mobile is not capable of sustaining an army. It is a shame!—a stigma on the fair fame of the Confederacy that thirty-five thousand hostile men should march entirely through Miss. and Ala., and no obstacle be placed in the way to impede their progress! We are told that the Country is devastated where they go,—That their trail is marked by the smouldering ruins of burned dwellings,—that crops are destroyed, and that everything that ministers to the necessities of life is laid waste by a remorseless foe. Never did I once think that such degradation could come upon my beloved native State, so long as she had *one* son left whose heart beat true to freedom, home and God! An apathy seems to have fallen on our armies, and stilled the energies of our people. We are lying still till the chains of Slavery are forged, and the manacles are fastened on our wrists!

Sometimes I wonder what posterity will think of this war, after the last spark of Southern resistance is extinguished in blood? Why such wholesale destruction of life and property? Why such rivers of undying hatred? What induced thirty millions of the human race, living under the same government, all speaking the same language and having a common origin, to engage in such an unholy strife. Already three quarters of a million of the best and bravest of the land have given up their lives. A hundred thousand widows and nearly half a million orphans fill the land with lamentations. With us in the South, the wheels of social progress are stopped, religion is retarded and the arts and sciences are laid away and covered with dust, forgotten are the amenities, and all that elevates, ennobles and adorns. And for what? Nominal freedom will come to some four or five millions of an inferior race—that will probably be invested with the right of suffrage without intelligence to use it,—thus affording to the world the most conspicuous example in all its history, that republican governments are a failure.

I may be wrong in these predictions. It is not given to man to pierce the veil that shrouds the future, God can yet open a way for our deliverance, and make us a prosperous and a mighty people, but *is* such His purpose? We have written, spoken, preached and prayed as though we knew that God purposed the achievement of our independence. It may be that this presumption should be rebuked. It is a sweet sentence which says "God loveth whom he chasteneth". No worldly prosperity, and no

national success, should make us for one moment willing to forego the love of the eternal Father! * * * *

The members of Co.'s "H" and "K" who stacked arms before we went to Meridian, have been sent to Montgomery. It will go hard with them, I fear.—Raining today.

Feb. 17th (Wednesday)—Am here in camp all alone today. On Monday last, about dark, we received orders to prepare five days rations and be ready to move at daylight. It was the sharpshooters alone, the right and left companies of each Regiment, that had such orders. I was not well, being nearly sick, and crippled by a severe boil and as it was thought best that some one should remain with the company baggage. Lt. Buchanan required that duty of me; so here I am. I can have roll call and Company inspection as many times a day as I see proper, or I can dispense with them altogether.

The Sharpshooters left at daylight Tuesday morning, under Maj. Rea. They were ordered to report to Col. Maury, of the 15th Confederate Cavalry, at Hall's Mills, said to be some six or eight miles from this place. I have heard nothing from them since. I would rather be with them, of course, but then I have much more leisure for reading here than if with them. Bro. Lattimore came in Monday, and has a number of books to which I can have access at any time. I find that I can be edified and spiritually strengthened by conversing with him.

O My Father in Heaven, give me strength to do thy will. Give me great faith, and I shall be strong. Remove every sinful thought and desire from my heart, and it shall be pure. Wash me, and I shall be clean. Let thy Spirit dwell richly within me, and I shall be holy in thy sight. Be my God and my guide all the days of my life. For I am frail and sinful and weak without thee. Take hold of my hand and lead me in the way of everlasting life. Set my feet in the paths of righteousness, and in thy goodness and mercy, and by thine Almighty power keep them there. So shall my walk tend to thy Name's honor and glory, and so shall even *my* life not be in vain. *Take me into thy hands, O Father, and mold me as thou wilt!*

The 36th and 39th Miss. Reg't. and the 7th Miss. Battalion have been attached to our Brigade. There are still some desertions among the Miss. troops, it being reported that about forty have left in the last two nights. It is further reported that the 35th Miss. Reg't. will be dismissed from this Brigade as soon as paid off.

Feb. 20th (Saturday)—Since the date of my last entry, the weather has been very cold. On Thursday morning the sky

was overcast with clouds, and a strong North wind was blowing. About 3 o'clock P. M. snow began to fall, which continued till after dark. I do not know how the others of my Company stood the cold—I have not heard from them yet, but I *knew* they were not as well furnished with extra blankets as I was.

There is a gloom over our Camp to-day. *Gen. Baldwin is dead!* That proud dashing form is cold and stiff in death,—the light in those eagle eyes is gone out, and the splendid mind has ceased to exist so far as we are concerned. A few hours since, Brig. Gen. Wm. E. Baldwin seemed a favorite of fortune. He was in the prime of life, blessed with health, riches, and honor, respected by his soldiers and confided in by his superiors, the path of preferment seemed to be already open before him. * * * *

February 22d, (Monday)—Two years ago, today, we were mustered into service as soldiers. The whole scene rises before me, and I can recall some of the emotions I felt that day. I can feel again the thrill of pride that swelled my heart as I was the first one to step to the designated line. Of the number who followed me only two or three are in the field. Some are dead while many more have abandoned the cause and gone to their homes. I vividly recall the speech of Capt. Fairley, the election of Company officers, and then the naming of the Company. This latter subject was one of great importance, and many names were suggested. I proposed a very *bloody* one, one that seemed almost terrible enough to frighten the Yankees into making overtures of peace, and which was not adopted, and therefore the war is not yet ended.

And I remember the "drill" we had after the meeting adjourned. I've drilled considerably since then, but I doubt if I ever felt any more interest in it than I did that day. And I guess than Gen. Hardie himself would have been puzzled to explain some of the maneuvers we executed there on the Streets of Williamsburg. The war was a popular thing then. Gen. Baldwin's remains were buried yesterday. I think nearly the entire Brigade attended the funeral, only one regiment bearing arms. (The funeral procession of the General of Brigade is one regiment of Infantry, a Company of Cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, though as many others as wish to, can join the procession, carrying only side arms). I did not leave the Camp. Have had no word from the Company yet.

Feb. 24th (Wednesday)—On the date of my last entry, Lt. McLaurin came in at nightfall, and remained until this morning. He was detailed to return to camp, and forward cooking

utensils, ammunition, etc, to the Battalion. From him I learned some facts connected with their locality, duties, etc. They are bivouacked on a stream called Bayou Batre, not far from the hamlet of Bayou Le Batre. It is about 27 miles from Mobile, and hence about 22 from here. They are within a few miles of Pascagoula Bay. They marched the whole distance the day they left here. The men are said to be in good spirits, their duties are light, and the locality is splendid "foraging" ground, the price of vegetables, milk, poultry, etc, being very low, when compared with prices here.

The forces there consist of the 15th Confederate Cavalry, two field pieces, and three Battalions of sharpshooters. The village is peopled entirely by "Dagoes", and I suppose the same is true of most of the surrounding Country.

They will likely remain where they are until some movement on the enemy's part necessitates a different disposition of our forces. That will be in the near future however. Ever since yesterday morning there has been a heavy bombardment somewhere down the Bay—at Fort Powell—I understand. I know nothing of its importance as a means of defense. The newspapers speak confidently of our ability to hold this place; but their confidence is almost enough to make one doubt it.

Bro. Lattimore preached Monday night. Text: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up; that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." The sermon was, upon the whole, a very instructive and impressive one. * * * *

Serg't B. F. Devlin of Co. "G" died suddenly yesterday afternoon. He was for several months Commissary Serg't for the Regiment. He attended the funeral Sunday, and yesterday when the company marched out to Dress parade they left him sitting in his cabin. When they returned he was dead. His remains were buried this afternoon.

I have been quite unwell for some days, and am still afflicted with some severe boils. I am low spirited, too, and feel quite lonesome at times. Col. W. S. Barry of the 35th Miss. Reg't. is commanding the Brigade.

Feb. 29th (Monday)—I am still alone, but am improving some physically mentally and spiritually. I have been reading "Ripleys Notes" on Acts. I find it an interesting and instructive work. * * * *

We are informed that the Federal column which reaches Meridian, has gone back toward Vicksburg. If such is the fact I shall expect some of the company to return with Capt. Magee,

who, with the other company commanders, was detailed as a recruiting officer in January, and who is expected back in a day or two. At least, I can hope for a letter. The bombardment at Fort Powell, continues.

March 3d (Thursday)—"Rejoicing" in a new pen, also a new bottle of ink for which I paid $2.00 a spoonful, I sit down to my Journal. Capt. Magee returned March 1st. Not a man came with him. I am ashamed of my company. I was so proud of its record, and of the reputation of the regiment, that the disgrace that has come to both humiliates me. But if I was disappointed in the failure of the men to report for duty, I was even more disappointed in not receiving any letters from home. I had only a brief verbal message from father. Things at home are in an unsatisfactory shape. The "Deserters" are causing a great deal of trouble and are cruelly harassing those who disapprove of their course. Father is getting his full share of their vindictiveness.

Another "Match Drill", came off yesterday at Camp Cummings—McNair's, Quarles' and our Brigade being the contestants. I was unable to attend. I don't think our Brigade made a very creditable showing.

I suppose our Sharpshooters will return from Bayou Le Batre, tomorrow, as the 35th Regiment has been dispatched to relieve them. The weather has been quite cold for a day or two,—I attended prayer meeting last night. Am feeling less downcast than I did. I had a long talk with Bro. Lattimore last night. It was some comfort to know that his spiritual conflicts had been similar to my own.

March 4th (Friday)—An incident occurred yesterday afternoon that to some extent at least, varied the monotony of camp life, and that deeply enlisted my sympathies. It was the "losing and finding again" of a little boy. He was about two years of ago, and could walk about the yard. His mother and little sisters thought he was asleep. Presently they missed him and began to search about the premises. Failing to find him they became alarmed, and called in some of the neighbors. The mother came into our camp begging for help to find her lost baby. It was pitiful to watch her distress.

The child was found about two hours afterward in the woods a mile from home. He was still walking steadily away from home. A negro boy was the first one to discover him. The little fellow said he was going to "see his papa," who I understand, is somewhere in the army. I did not learn the family's name.

It gladdened our hearts when the wanderer was found, but our gladness was tame compared to the *mother's joy.* And if her joy was so great, we are told that the Father's rejoicing over the return of one of the lost children of men is even greater than hers.

March 8th (Tuesday)—Nothing of special importance has transpired. The company returned Saturday, 5th. On Sunday we had two sermons in the Regiment. That in the morning was on the "Great Supper" and in the afternoon on the "Goodness and Severity of God". An interesting Bible class at night. Lesson text, first chapter of Acts of the Apostles.

Yesterday we were paid up—wages to Jany. 1, 1864, and commutation for clothing for the year ending Oct. 8, 1863. As the "old issue" of Confederate notes will soon be worthless, it seems the Treasury department is very anxious to get rid of it—hence the large installment of wages we received.

All the officers who were detailed to secure recruits have returned, and there has not been half a dozen brought into camp.

March 11th (Friday)—Agreeably to orders received we will be "on the wing" again in less than twenty-four hours, so I will devote a little time to these pages.

There has been some excitement, among the officers this week, in consequence of a rumor that Col. O. S. Holland, of the 37th Miss. Reg't, had been promoted to Brig. Gen. and assigned to the command of this Brigade. A protest against such assignment was drawn up, but I do not know the precise grounds of opposition. I suppose, however, they are not wholly *disinterested* ones. There seems to be a general desire, in the regiment, at least, that Col. Sears should receive the coveted promotion. Such a promotion would enable several others to take one more upward step on the ladder of distinction.

On Wednesday last I was sent to the Government Distillery near this place, in command of a Corporal and nine privates, to guard the premises, large quantities of whiskey are manufactured here, and some of the men soon drank enough to render them boisterous and afterward utterly useless as guards,—It was a dark gloomy day, with a copious down pour of rain, accompanied by lightening and thunder. Supposing that I had an opportunity of sending letters by hand, I wrote to the home folks.

We are under orders to march at 12 o'clock M. tomorrow. It is said that we will go to Pollard, where the 37th Miss. Reg't. already is, and that "Holland's Brigade", will likely be organized there. As it now stands the Brigade is composed as follows: 4th, 35th, 36th, and 46th Miss. Reg'ts., and the 7th Miss.

Bat. The 40th Reg't. has been transferred to another department and has gone. The 35th is at Bayou Le Batre, and Col. Barry is reported as saying that his regiment *shall not go* into a Brigade under Holland. The reason for this is, probably, the fact that Barry is Holland's Senior, and hence cannot brook the latter's promotion in preference to himself.

Pollard, Ala. March 14th (Monday)—The regiment left the encampment at Dog River Factory about 1 o'clock Saturday. Being hardly fit for duty, I was left in camp to superintend the removal of the baggage. Before relating my own "experiences", I will say that the regiment went aboard the Steamer at 4 o'clock P. M. and arrived at Tensaw in due time. After a detention of some hours they left there at 1 o'clock A. M. Sunday, and arrived at Pollard about 8 o'clock A. M.

It was the understanding that the Regimental baggage would be hauled away Saturday afternoon. About dusk enough wagons came to take on half of it. * * * *

It was said the wagons would certainly return before daylight, and as it was necessary to keep a guard anyhow, I made no preparation for sleep. Co. "K"'s baggage being placed with ours, and one of that Co. being left as a guard, I found an agreeable companion for the night in Private Jacob Moors. About 8 o'clock Sunday morning, the wagons came for the residue of the baggage, and we proceeded to the city. At 2 o'clock P. M. we embarked on board the Steamer "Senator",—McNair's Arkansas Brigade occupying almost the entire boat. The wind was blowing strongly from the Northwest, and I suppose this was the reason we did not follow the usual route. Steaming up the Mobile River some ten or fifteen miles, we entered a pass connecting with the Tensaw, which stream we reached some distance below the landing.

In steaming through this pass, which was quite narrow in some places, with very low banks, the Arkansas troops had much sport in shooting alligators. The air was cool, but the sun shone brightly, and we frequently came in sight of rusty looking monsters lying stretched on the bank in the sunshine. The eagerness of the sportsmen generally prevented their getting near enough to put in telling shots. From the bloody-tinged water, however, I judged that all the bullets did not miss the mark.—Every Saurian, however, was able to take the water, and pass out of sight.

It was about 5 o'clock, P. M. when we arrived at Tensaw, and a train was being made ready for us. As all could not go on one train another was gotten ready as soon as possible and we

started on the last one about 8 o'clock P. M. and arrived at Pollard about 1 o'clock next morning.

As I was perched on top of a loaded wagon, and sleep was not to be thought of, I observed the country along the rail-road as well as the light of the moon near its first quarter would allow. There is little to be seen. For the most part it is low flat pine woods, too sterile to ever be brought into a state of cultivation. Williams Station, is I think the most important stopping place.

We are now occupying some cabins, that other troops have built, though we will probably move tomorrow. McNair's Brigade is here, and we are commanded by Gen. Cantey. This is a pretty encampment. It is dry and level, and has good wells of water and plenty of fuel.

I think "Old Pollard" is some distance from the Depot. The town strangely reminds me of Meridian as I first saw the latter. It is, I understand between forty and fifty miles from Pensacola, and is in Conecuh County, Alabama. Some four five miles west of this point is the Escambia River.—Nearer still on the other side is the Conecuh River and the two form a junction some miles South of here.

Camp Lee, 4 miles N.E. of Pollard, March 23d (Wednesday)—One week ago today, the regiment marched from its old encampment, I being again left in charge of the baggage. I came on next morning, and found the whole Brigade encamped in close order. And the Brigade only, but the whole division is here. It consists of McNair's Brigade, commanded by Col. Coleman, on the right ours in the center and Cantey's Ala. Brigade commanded by Lt. Col. Holcomb on the left. Brig. Gen. Cantey commands the Division. The rumored promotion of Col. Holland is still an unknown quantity. Our Brigade is encamped as follows, beginning on the right: 4th, 7th (Bat) 46th, 39th and 36th. There is room between the 7th Bat. and 46th for another regiment. The 35th is still at Bayou Le Batre, and the 37th is somewhere in the direction of Pensacola. This is a poor thinly settled region. We are encamped near one of the finest springs I ever saw. It affords an abundance of water for two Brigades. We have erected good cabins, for the sixth time this winter, and are well prepared to "settle down", till time to move.

Pollard is one of the points where the government issues rations to those civilians who are dependent upon it for support. It is said that more than 900 women and children draw rations here on the 1st, 11th and 21st of each month.

On Friday last Lts. Buchanan and Duckworth started home on "unlimited detail", to collect the Company. Of course I

sent letters by them. Have received letters from W.C.R. of the 7th Miss. Regt. and Miss Northcutt. It is only about 20 miles to where the latter lives.

The event of most importance to us, as a regiment is this: Last Sunday Col. C. W. Sears was commissioned as Brig. Gen. and assigned to the command of this Brigade. The promotion was wholly unexpected, although he had been recommended to the Richmond authorities. He assumed command on Monday 21st. Col. Barry left as soon as he was notified of Sears' promotion. W. H. Clarke will become our Col.—Con. Rea. our Lt. Col.—and T. D. Magee our Maj. if he can pass the examining Board.

March 25th (Friday)—Just two years today since I left my home. Memory has been with me all day—

Wednesday night was the time for our prayer meeting. Two other preachers were present beside our Chaplain,—Gardner, from Smth[1] County, who has a son in Co. "G" and Rev. A. G. Bakewell, chaplain of the 7th Miss. Battalion. The latter is an Episcopalian, and hails, I think, from New Orleans. Both made talks on Isaiah 55th, dwelling mostly upon the words; "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near."

The same night the band of the 36th Reg't serenaded Gen. Sears at his Headquarters. I think he responded in a few "happy remarks". After the completion of this performance the splendid band of the 17th Ala. (?) tendered a similar compliment to the new general. * * * *

Col. Sears was a splendid Regimental Commander, and for his many high qualities I respect and esteem him. * * * *

This scramble for office and general placehunting has perhaps already lost us more than one battle, and may lose us many more. Too many officers have seemingly forgotten the common good and seek only their own aggrandizement, and the gratification of their personal ends. But all the corruption, and all the indifference to the distress of our people, is not confined to the army. All over the land, if we may believe common reports, balls, soirees and revelings are the order of the day. It is said that Nero fiddled while Rome was burning. We, to say the least, are aping his follies. Surely *now* is *not* a "time to dance."

March 31st (Thursday)—On the night of the 25th a meeting of the officers and men of the regiment was called to consider the subject of reenlisting for the war. * * * * We reenlisted

[1] Probably Smith

however, by adopting some very bold resolution of the original fire-eating sort (but which I endorse) and were "mustered in for the war", be it long or short, on Sunday, by Capt. I. V. Enochs, of the 36th Miss. Reg't. and acting inspector General of Sears' Brigade. But I am compelled to say that it was the immediate prospect of obtaining furloughs that induced many of the men to reenlist.

A liberal system of furloughs has been promised, and I trust it may be carried out. Furloughs are to be given to one Officer, an non-Commissioned officer and three privates in every Company, of course, applications were forwarded right away. * * * * most of those who are left have families at home, who would be very materially aided by a week or two of help from the head of the family, just at this time.

I will not grumble, however. If I get to go home at all it will be so much more than I have expected, that I will be grateful indeed. I have learned that my friend W. C. R. of the 7th Reg't. passed this place on the night of the 28th, going home on furlough. * * * *

A meeting or a series of meetings is going on in the Brigade. Eld,—Williams, an Army Missionary is the moving spirit in the meeting. He is a Baptist, is quite a young man, and I think his home is in Mobile. For the past two nights he has given us earnest, practical and pointed discourses. Last night his sermon was based on that passage in Romans (X:41) "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth". Much interest was manifested and several asked for special prayer.

We are under orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice. Col. Holland is in the direction of Pensacola, and we may go where he is. We are also ordered to turn over all surplus baggage. This would seem to indicate that "active service" for the summer is in contemplation, at least.

Since we left Mobile, the weather has been rather cool and disagreeable. The breath of spring is in the air, however.

April 7th (*Thursday*)—It is raining today. No events of special importance have transpired since my last entry. On Saturday, 2nd inst. the 35th Reg't arrived and took the position between us and the 7th Battalion.

The ordinance of baptism was administered on Sunday afternoon,—a man in Co. "G" named Chambers, being the candidate.

At dress parade on Monday April 4th an order was read making some changes in the Regimental staff.

The office of Ensign having been created by the last Congress. Serg't. Major R. H. Wildy, was promoted to that position, and I was appointed Ser'gt to be obeyed and respected accordingly. Q. M. Serg't Warren Cowan, having been transferred to the Artillery Service, James Deer of Co. "D" was appointed to fill his place. S. S. Griffin of Co. "C" was made Ordnance Serg't.

So I am no longer a member of Co. "B". It cost me a struggle to sever my relation to it, though we are still together. I feel, however, that my presence in the company had some influence in inducing others to be more faithful in the discharge of their duties. On the other hand, I will be thrown with the Chaplain more, and will have opportunities for reading and study that I would not have in the Company.

The meetings for preaching still continue. Tomorrow has been set apart as a day of Fasting and Prayer. Service will be held in Camp, and the ordinance of baptism will be administered.

Another order relative to furloughs has been promulgated and it is thought the pending applications will all be disapproved. There is, on this account considerable grumbling. The numerical strength of the Regiment is being considerably augmented by the return of Absentees.

April 16th (Saturday) Three miles West of Selma—I will attempt a brief summary of events since I wrote here last. At that time, about a week had elapsed since any reference had been made to our "marching orders" and we had come to regard them as an "April Fool".

On Friday, 8th, there was preaching in our regiment (the "Chapel" of the Brigade) Bro. C. M. Gordon, chaplain of the 36th Miss Reg't preached.

Christians in the Brigade generally observed the fast. All duties were suspended and those who were not religiously inclined enjoyed a holiday.

Having been required to assist Adjutant John McRae in the preparation of an important document, I was prevented from attending the ordinance of baptism in the afternoon.

On Saturday 9th, the Young Men's Christian Association of the Brigade met. The whole session was consumed in reading and revising the Constitution. * * * *

That night we had orders to prepare three days' rations at once. Next day, Sunday 10th we left "Camp Lee" about 4 o'clock P. M. We bivouacked near the Depot that night, and next morning the 4th, 35th and 36th left on the trains for Montgomery. Owing to lack of transportation facilities, the

rest of us had to wait until Wednesday 13th. On that day we left Pollard at 8 o'clock A. M. and arrived at Montgomery at 5 o'clock P. M. On a former occasion I noted the principal points of interest on this road.

Nothing of interest occurred on the trip, if we except one shameful practice that some of our soldiers indulged in, and that was the shooting of stock along the road as we passed. I never saw such lawlessness, such wanton destruction of property before. And the perpetrators of this outrage were Confederate soldiers, and their victims were citizens of the Confedcrate States. We profess to be fighting for the "rights of property", among other principles involved, and here were men acting as hardly a savage would act. I felt hurt at what my fellow soldiers did, and I wondered why Col. Clarke, who was in command did not have it stopped. Such disgraceful conduct has led many citizens to look upon our own soldiers as ruffians and thieves. Many a well meaning soldier is too short-sighted to understand that our own conduct has caused this odium to attach to our names, and he is therefore resentful, and ready to indulge in a course, that only serves to widen the breach.

There are doubtless mean men all over our land who *ought* to lose their ill-gotten wealth; but let not him who wears a soldier's uniform lift a finger against such a man. Our cause has been already injured by our soldiers, in this way. Some will say that the enemy can do no worse than our own men are doing; and if their sympathies are still with the South they are compelled to withhold material support because of the lack of means. It may be urged that the man who is influenced by such mercenary motives is not a true patriot. Perhaps not, but observation has taught me that the man whose patriotism is wholly unmixed with something lower is exceedingly rare.

But this is being brief with a vengeance!

After leaving the train at Montgomery, we marched to the boat landing rather above the City, where we remained all night. Quite early on Thursday the boat that was to convey us down the river was moored to the bank, and as it began raining in a few minutes after its arrival, most of the men went on board at once. It was a disagreeable day, and we did not start till about 4 o'clock P. M.—As usual the boat was crowded far beyond its capacity, the weather was quite cool and we were quite uncomfortable on the trip.

We arrived at Selma about midnight, debarked and endeavored to get a little sleep. A cold rain was still falling and we could

get nothing to make fires with. Sleep, therefore was a failure, and we had to shiver in the mud and darkness till daylight.

About 9 o'clock A. M. Friday 15th, we started to find a camping place. We are here in the woods, some three miles west of the city, on a sandy ridge, and near a large Creek. Wood and water are both plentiful and convenient, and I see no reason why the location should be a healthy one. The Spring is rather backward.

There is considerable wealth about this place, and as it appears no troops have ever been encamped here, we will probably fare pretty well, if the soldiers will respect the rights of the citizens. It is uncertain how long we will remain here. It was the impression before we reached this point that we would make no stop here, but would proceed at once to Montevallo.

About the time we left Pollard Adjutant McRee started home on a short furlough. Since that time I have been attending to his duties as well as my own, and find it a considerable burden. Hope he will return soon.

Have had no opportunity yet of visiting the city.

April 25th (Monday)—I have this day received a letter from Mrs. McLemore, of Meridian, Miss. informing me that the MS page of this Journal left in her care fell into the hands of the enemy and were consequently lost. I feel somewhat cast down at this news: but will endeavor to supply the main facts from memory.

(In the proper place I have noted the loss and subsequent recovery of the MS.)

Nothing of great importance has occurred since I wrote here before. We are still at the same place and the Reg't, is recruiting quite rapidly. The adjutant has returned and things are moving on as usual. We have Battalion drill in the forenoon and Brigade drill in the afternoon.

Yesterday we were reviewed by Brig. Gen. Hodge, Special Inspector General, from Richmond. The parade was witnessed by a great many ladies. And in fact, the maneuvers of the troops, especially in the Brigade line, are nearly always performed under the eyes of many of the fair sex.

In the afternoon of Saturday last, the Students of the Female Seminary at Summerfield (some six miles distant) came in a body to "see the soldiers". It was a charming sight to see so many lovely girls just budding into a lovelier womanhood all dressed in uniform, their hands filled with flowers, their faces

wreathed in smiles, their eyes sparkling with girlish gayety, and yet with sweet, womanly sympathy turned upon the weather-beaten "Mississippi boys", while their lips gave utterances to many a hopeful, helpful word. Many a rough, rugged nature felt softened and uplifted after meeting these purehearted girls.

Not being over gallant by nature, and less so by practice, I failed to receive any of the bouquets that were so lavishly dispensed—often accompanied by dainty little scraps of paper, on which a tender thought or fervent wish was traced.

Affairs are in a bad way at home. Col. Robert Lowry with his command—the 6th Miss. Reg't—is in that section hunting down deserters. Many have already been hung and killed otherwise, and altogether it seems that those peaceful hills and vales are to be reddend with blood, though no vast armies meet thereon.

G.G.R. was intercepted on his return to the army, and is still detained somewhere on the way.

I have had no chance yet to visit the city of Selma. I think it is more a city of homes, than of business; at least that was my impression, as we marched from the boat landing here. It stands on the right-bank of the Alabama River, and is something over a hundred miles, by way of the River, below Montgomery.

(Note—After another interval of months, I must again depart from the usual mode of Journal keeping, and resume the narrative form. And circumstances must render my narrative very brief. My notes taken on the ground were copious enough for all practical purposes; but I can do little more than transcribe them. Some day I may attempt a more elaborate account of the campaign in Ga. than I can give in these pages. It has been truly said that in keeping a Journal, the more one sees, the less he writes. It requires leisure to write up the daily events. This has been denied me. Sometimes for weeks I have been barely able to note the rapidly shifting scenes that passed before me like the passing of a panorama. Home, Nov. 15th 1864.)

On Saturday, April 30th, a general review and drill was ordered to give the citizens of the vicinity, and especially the students of the School at Summerfield an opportunity of witnessing the exercises.

The day was beautiful and clear, and everything passed off most agreeably. Not being required to take my place in line, Chaplain, Gordon (of the 36th) introduced me to some young ladies. In the Misses Richardson of Summerfield I found two very agreeable and fascinating companions. Later in the day I

formed the acquaintance of Miss. McIlwain, who I found to be very entertaining indeed, as well as beautiful in figure and face.

Before the exercises were concluded it was generally understood that the Brigade (the only troops there) had received marching orders. Adieus were said, sighs were breathed, tears were shed and vows were softly spoken that in some cases, death has left unfulfilled.

Never have I seen a better state of feeling between the soldier and the citizen than during our stay at Selma and never have I seen soldiers deport themselves so well. Not a single jar occurred, so far as I know; on the contrary, the utmost harmony prevailed, and, without exception, we look upon our brief stay at Selma, as the most pleasant experience of the life in camp. Hence there were heavy hearts when those orders came.

All of the Brigade except our regiment left the camp on Sunday.—May 1st, it was understood that we were to go to Tuscaloosa, Ala. At sunrise next morning, (Monday 2nd) our regiment took up the line of March. After traveling six or seven miles we reached Craigs Ferry, on the Cahaba River. After crossing a march of seven miles further took to Bethel Church where we stopped for the night. Tuesday, 3rd, we marched about fifteen miles our route leading us some two miles to the South of Marion, the home of Howard College and the Judson Female Institute, and the county site of Perry County, Wednesday morning we were fourteen miles from Greensboro, Ala., where we expected to overtake the rest of the Brigade. Reaching the town an hour before sunset we learned that the other regiments were some four miles further.

As we passed through the town, Serg't. Henderson of Co. "K" met a friend who invited him to spend the night with him and requested him to bring a soldier friend with him. This honor was conferred on me. I was the more ready to accept the invitation as I was informed that there would be a concert in town that night.

At the home of our host we were well entertained. At the supper table, however, my natural awkwardness, which had been aggravated by several months of life in camp, caused me to drop the syrup-pitcher in my lap. I also formed the acquaintance of Miss Annie Rowlandson, a very pretty girl, and an agreeable companion.

After supper we attended the concert, the proceeds of which were to be devoted to some benevolent object. I would like to give a detailed description of the exercises, but have not time to do so. After some singing, which was probably pretty good,

though to my uneducated ear it seemed very affected, there was a series of tableaux which were really fine, especially one, "Comin' through the Rye". The principal entertainment, however, was the performance of a lengthy so-called charade, the name of which I have forgotten. "Cousin Frank" who was dreadfully love sick, said and wrote a great many silly things, and "Cousin Margaret" in a spirit of mischief said many more that were downright provoking. "Aunt Patty's" cap and Daddy Hogan's long-tailed, claw hammer coat, were very amusing, and the whole rendition was creditable to the amateur performers. With a comic speech that fairly "brought down the house" the affair came to an end.

Greensboro is a beautiful town. There were on every hand evidences of Wealth and refinement. A fine building just South of town, is used by the Methodist as a College for young men. The town enjoys no railroad facilities, but there is more life and animation there than in any other town I know of.

When the concert was over, Serg't H. and I went out to where the regiment was bivoacked. During the night orders were received from Maj. Gen. French to proceed to Montevallo with the least possible delay. This made it necessary to retrace our steps for about ten miles.

We took up the new line of March on Friday morning and traveled about 25 miles through the dust and heat, and many of the men gave out. Saturday, we marched only about miles, leaving Marion on our right again. Making an early start on Sunday 8th, about sunrise, we passed through the village of Centerville, the county site of Bibb County. About noon we passed another hamlet called Six Mile. By 2 o'clock P. M. we had marched about eighteen miles and stopped for the night at a point some five and a half miles west of Montevallo. Monday, May 9th, we reached Montevallo and some two or three miles beyond it, went into a regular camp near a magnificent spring.

Montevallo is in Shelby County and is fifty-four miles from Selma, (by R. R. still less) yet we had marched one hundred and twenty-five miles to reach it. It is not a large town at all. Iron is found in the vicinity, and there is a foundry here, where rough castings are made.

Tuesday, 10th, we received orders to move again, and on the morning of the 11th, (Wednesday) we repaired to the depot after a night of drizzling rain. As usual, we had to wait for trains, and it was 2 o'clock P. M. Thursday, when we started.

It is eighty miles from Montevallo to Blue Mountain, but there

are not many points of interest on the route. Shelby Springs, ten miles from Montevallo, is a beautifully situated place. It is the County-site—there are extensive hospitals here, and I think some furnaces for reducing iron ore. The place had some interest for our company, because one of members had been there for months as a hospital nurse, and rumor said he had been married there, having a wife already at home.

About thirty five miles beyond Shelby Springs we came to Talladega, the site of the county of the same name. This is a thriving looking place.—I think we crossed the Coosa River, twice —perhaps oftener. From some cause we lay over all night at "Memford's" some fifteen miles south of Blue Mountain, and it was 9 o'clock A. M. Friday, 13th, when we reached the latter place.

Blue Mountain is no town at all. It is simply the Northern terminus of the unfinished Ala. & Tenn. River R. R. It is, I think in Calhoun County and it would make a handsome site for a city.

At 1 o'clock P. M. Saturday, 14th we again took up the line of march, and spent the night near Jacksonville, the site of Calhoun County and some 16 miles from the starting place. Next day, Sunday 15th, we marched some eighteen miles through a fine farming region watered by magnificent springs and mountain streams. During the forenoon we passed the village of Cross Plains; so named I think because the mountain valleys here cross each other at right angles. This is a pretty place. A few miles further we reached the village of Ladigo and near it a broad swift stream called by the same name. It was necessary to wade this stream. The further bank was lined with ladies, many of whom wept in pity for the "poor soldiers" as we waded across.

Next, Monday, 16th we passed the beautiful town of Cave Springs, Ga., about sixteen miles from Rome. This is one of the nicest places I ever saw and one of the most beautifully situated. It is in a vale, surrounded almost entirely by mountains whose green sides shut in the view. Nowhere have I ever seen a spot more sequestered than this; and when the inhabitants turned out *en masse* to greet us, I fancied they had felt the horrors of war less keenly than others had done.

There is a natural curiosity here, which I visited after I was wounded. It is a grotto or cave in the hill side directly overlooking the small brick church which stands at the base of the hill a few paces from the finest spring I ever saw. I explored this cave for about fifty feet, but having no light and only one

arm, I was afraid to go any further lest I should break my neck. I don't know whether it contains anything of interest or not.

Prior to our arrival at Cave Springs—quite early in the forenoon in fact—a white object was observed in the sky to the south east, apparently about a half mile high and moving rapidly toward the south. We decided that it was a balloon, and that the enemy was endeavoring by that means to ascertain the strength of the reinforcements that were coming to Gen. Johnston. The attack on Rome the next day, and the palpable attempt to cut off Ector's and Cockrell's Brigades which were behind us, seemed to confirm this opinion.

At Cave Springs we were met by about thirty wagons belonging to the citizens of the vicinity, in readiness to haul the footsore and the sick to Rome; which place we reached about 8 o'clock P. M.—having marched since morning about twenty eight miles. I did not see the town of Rome at all. It is situated at the junction of, and between the Oostenuaulta and Etowah Rivers, which at this place unite and form the Coosa. Immediately on our arrival at Rome, we went on board the train, and I went to sleep. I do not know how far it is from Rome to Kingston, the point where the Rome road intersects the road from Atlanta to Chattanooga. It is probably twenty or twenty-five miles, and a portion of the way, the road bed seems to be on the bank of the Etowah River.

We arrived at Adairsville, about 2 o'clock A. M. Tuesday, May 17th, and about 10 o'clock A. M. we formed a line of battle through the town. During the day a man named B. W. Creel hunted me up, and informed me that my lost Journal had been found. The man had just enlisted in Co. "I" and was wounded a few days afterward.

We remained in line till about midnight, when we fell back some twelve miles to Cassville. Arriving at the latter place about 8 o'clock A. M. and bivouacked in a field, I obtained permission to visit the 7th Miss. Reg't. and spent most of the day with my friends in that Regiment. I learned many things about the home folks; also the particulars of the death of J. N. Easterling who was killed at Resaca, a few days previous. At dark we formed a line of battle and remained in position all night.

Next morning the whole army formed in battle array, and awaited the advance of the enemy. It was evidently Gen. Johnston's design to fight on this ground. A stirring battle order was read to the men, and Lt. Gen. Polk made a brief talk to each regiment along the line. Our Brigade was on the reserve

line, and we were not brought under fire till about 3 o'clock P. M. It was the first time we had heard the *zip* of hostile bullets since leaving Vicksburg, and to me it was my first experience of danger after learning to trust it all to Jesus. Our Regiment had five men wounded that afternoon, though we did not fire a gun. Gen. Sears, who was under fire for the first time, after his promotion was struck on the foot by the fragment of a shell. I, in passing, was in a few feet of him at the time, and asked, "Gen., are you hurt?" "I believe not," he replied, as he coolly surveyed the damage. "I wouldn't mind it, if it hadn't spoiled my new boot!"

As we were moving from one part of the field to another we passed the 27th Miss. Regt. (also in reserve). At the head of the remnant of the "Fensibles," with his Bible in his hand, was the youthful captain, Joel R. Baugh.—He was reading aloud to his men. There was only time for a hurried hand clasp as we marched by, and I saw them no more.

The enemy, however, did not make any serious attack, but began to flank our position,—a maneuver that became a familiar one before the campaign ended. About one o'clock A. M. Friday, 20th, we began falling back. At daylight we passed through the town of Cartersville without making any halt. Nor did we stop till we had crossed the Etowah River, some twelve miles from where we started. After resting some three or four hours, we moved some three miles to the left, and about noon bivouacked near an old glass factory, where we remained till Monday 23d. On Sunday Lt. Gen. Polk, who was a Bishop in the M. E. C. South (I believe) attended religious services in our Brigade. Chaplain Bakewell of the 7th Battalion preached, after which Gen. Polk offered some well timed remarks. Through these remarks, for the first time I learned that Gen. Sears was a professor of religion.

The enemy having crossed the river with a portion of his forces at a point opposite Dallas, a countermove on our part, became necessary. Hence about 1 o'clock P. M. on Monday 23d our Corps began moving to the left. We marched twelve miles and bivouacked for the night. Started at daylight next morning. * * * *

About 10 o'clock a.m. we past through the little village of Lost Mountain, and after going a few miles further, halted for the night about 1 o'clock P.M. The whole afternoon and night was raining, and Chaplain Lattimore and I, having a hole to sleep in were pretty well soaked before morning.

Starting at daylight, Wednesday 25th, we marched about

three miles, and halted till 1 o'clock P.M.—While there G. G. R. came to us. I was glad to see him after his long detention on the way, and was more than glad to receive the letters he brought.

About 1 o'clock P.M. we were again put in motion and marched some three miles further. Stopping for half an hour, we could plainly hear the roar of artillery and rattle of musketry beyond New Hope Church, where the battle was then raging. Starting again at a "double quick" we went across fields and woods, and after a march of some five miles (much of it over fresh plowed fields, and all of it through mud) we halted for the night on the edge of the battlefield, and lay in the road till morning. Being the recipient of a new shirt, brought from home by G. G. R. I, that night parted with large numbers of companions, who had gone with me on many a weary march—I left them hanging on the bush.—

On this march I first saw Maj. Gen. French, our Division Commander. His Division consists of Cockrell's, Ector's and Sears' Brigade. The first named are from Mo. and the second Texas and N. C. and the last from Miss.—Walthall's, Loring's and French's Divisions make up Polk's Corps. Some rain fell that night. Next morning, Thursday 26th, we took position some three-fourths of a mile to the West of New Hope Church, —our Brigade being in the rear of Ector's and Cockrell's. Lts. Buchanan and Duckworth, Stephen R, and about twenty others of Co. "B" came to us while here. Once more the company presented respectable proportions. We remained at this spot all day, while on our right there was a brisk skirmish fire. On Friday 27th we moved about a half mile to the left, and forming a line, threw forward skirmishers. About 1 o'clock these engaged the enemy and the firing was continued all the afternoon.

We commenced strengthening our position by trenches and breastworks. This work was nearly completed at 1 o'clock P. M. Saturday 28th, when we moved by the right flank to a point about one-fourth of a mile East of or to the right of New Hope Church. We there relieved a portion of Hood's Corps, who moved still further to the right. We remained in these trenches till Saturday, June, 4th occasionally changing position as exigencies required.

Cos. "B," "E" and "G" were detached on Friday 27th and did not rejoin the Regt. till Tuesday 31st. Sergt. E. W. White of Co. "H" was killed Saturday 28th. During the entire time of our stay here the pickets were constantly fighting, and there were occasional artillery duels.

About 12 o'clock Sunday night, there was a false alarm. Not only the pickets on our front, but the front line of battle,—and especially the 35th Miss. Regt. which was in our front,—fired volley after volley as rapidly as possible. The artillery on both sides became engaged, and it sounded like a desperate battle. It was seemingly one of the darkest nights I ever saw. I had lain down without removing even my blanket or sword. At the first volley, I sprang to my feet, but a little excited at the din. A moment later Col. Clarke jumped up, exclaiming "Chambers! Chambers! Serg't. Major! Serg't. Major!" in such rapid succession that he failed to hear me till I had answered him the third time. When at last I made him comprehend that I was awake and up he directed me to "form the regiment" while he danced around in the dark trying to find his boots, his sword and his hat. The regiment was soon in line, but the firing ceased after a few minutes. The pickets who came in after daylight informed us that while the excitement lasted, they found it safest on the sides of the trees next to the Yankees. This is sometimes called the "Battle of the Lightning Bugs."

Yielding to the repeated solicitations of Ordnance Serg't. S. S. Griffin, I prevailed on Col. Clarke to allow us to exchange places, which we did on Wednesday June 1st, and I immediately entered upon my new duties. Josiah Rodgers of Co. "B" received a wound that day of which he subsequently died. There were other casualties.

On Saturday 4th, the enemy made several demonstrations, though no serious assault was attempted. After night fall we fell back to Lost Mountain, a distance of about six miles. The night was very dark and the roads extremely wet and muddy.

On Sunday, 5th, I petitioned Col. Clarke to relieve me of the duties I was then discharging and allow me to return to my company. Several reasons induced me to take this step. It was the earnest wish of Lt. Buchanan that I should do so, but the most potent with me, was the belief that my presence in the company would make others more reconciled to the hardships, dangers, and privations of a soldiers lot. As Ordnance Serg't. I was was not only exempt from most of the hardships incident to camp life, but its dangers as well; but I was necessarily separated from the Company during active service. The Ordnance officer demurred to the proposition, and refused to give his consent from some time, to any change. Col. Clarke also dissuaded me, but at last yielded the point, and I gave up my sword and resumed a gun feeling much better equipped for killing Yankees.

I chose to return as a private, but without my knowledge my name was entered on the roll as Second Sergeant.

We "lay around loose" at this place until Friday 7th, when we moved by the right flank to a point a few miles West of Marietta. We did picket duty that night, though we were not in contact with the enemy. Next morning we began to strengthen our line by throwing up breastworks. This position was known by various names such as the "Lattimore Line," "Pine Mountain" and "Moonshine Creek."—On Thursday 9th we again moved to the right about one-half mile, and continued the work of strengthening our position. Saturday 11th, the regiment again went on picket, and remained till the afternoon of Monday 13th, during which time there was almost incessant rain. Fortunately for us, there was no picket fighting on our part of the line.

About noon, on Tuesday 14th, Lt. Gen. Polk was killed by a cannon ball. He was on the line of Gen. Loring's Division and was a mile or two to our right. He was a brave man and a Christian gentlemen.—

The lines were gradually closed from the left, and on Friday, 17th our pickets became engaged. Two men of our regiment, but detailed as sharpshooters, were mortally wounded on the picket line that day. Heavy rains were still falling.

About daylight, Saturday 18th, we were aroused by heavy firing on our left, and in a few minutes afterward our pickets came running in, and reported that the enemy were advancing. Our regiment was placed in reserve, where we were exposed to an enfilading fire of musketry and Artillery all day, but with no serious casualties,—Col. Clarke receiving a very slight wound.

Ector's and Cockrell's Brigades were more hotly engaged than ours, and the losses in the Division during the day were said to be about two hundred men. Our Brigade sustained a serious loss in the person of Lt. Col. Pardue, of the 7th Bat. He was a brave man, a good officer and a courtly gentleman. I think he was a member of a Baptist Church.

Darkness put an end to the conflict, though a desultory fire was kept up. About 9 o'clock P. M. our regiment was deployed and relieved Cockrell's Brigade. We had one man for every forty feet. We kept up a skirmish firing and occasionally added fuel to the fires in rear of the works. At 11 o'clock P. M. we were silently withdrawn, and followed the command in another retrograde movement. Great quantities of rain had fallen during the past twenty-four hours, and every thing was covered with mud.

On this retreat, it will be understood that the main portion

of our line was not disturbed at all, only the center falling back some two or three miles. On Kennesaw Mountain was our next position where we remained just two weeks.—I think I never experienced more that was unpleasant in the same length of time. Our Brigade was on Little Kennesaw, and we had to do picket duty at its base. The pickets were changed after nightfall, and it was no pleasant thing to clamber up and down almost perpendicular cliffs for nearly half a mile. The first week of our stay was one of almost continuous raining; we had no fuel, and consequently our clothing was wet all the time. Then the rains ceased, the weather became hot, and our supply of water rapidly failed. Added to these unpleasant features was the fact that the enemy had perhaps fifty pieces of artillery bearing upon the mountain and that almost every part of its top and sides was exposed to the fire of these pieces.

For days we had seen the huge bulk of Kinnesaw, in our rear, and as we marched in that direction on that Saturday night, the wish was frequently expressed that our Brigade might be posted on its summit, and sure enough, we were.

It was a dreary prospect on which we opened our eyes on Sunday morning June 19th. In fact, we were literally enveloped in the clouds. Nothing could be seen save a lead colored mist, that saturated one's clothing almost as quickly as a rain. Presently the mist began to gather into vast billows, between rifts appeared. As these rifts grew wider, we caught glimpses of the country below. Gradually as the sun arose, the clouds were lifted higher, and I could soon distinguish the position we had occupied the previous day. I saw the enemy make a gallant charge upon our deserted works, and he doubtless carried them without the loss of a man. I saw his Brigades and Divisions debouching on the great plain below. First came a line of skirmishers to be closely followed by heavy lines of infantry and sections of artillery.

A small detachment of our cavalry was in the enemy's front. Frequently they halted, where I suppose the ground was favorable, and as the Federal skirmishers came in sight they would fire a volley at them. This would always cause confusion, but quickly rallying, they would boldly advance to find our troops had retreated to another position. This was so often repeated that it became a source of diversion to us who were merely lookers-on.

For miles in the enemy's rear the country was spread out like a map. His wagon trains were parked on a hundred open fields,

and thousands of tents that sheltered his soldiers were visible from where we stood.

By 10 o'clock A. M. his skirmishers had approached near enough to engage ours. Close behind them came his artillery. One reason why we had desired to be posted on the mountain was because we thought the position too elevated for cannon shot to reach us. We saw directly in front of us, a battery placed in position in an open field. We had formed our line across the side of the mountain some fifty feet below its crest, feeling perfectly secure without any breast-works at all.

The first shot from the battery in our front fell at the base of the mountain, and we cheered derisively. The next shot came half way up the side, and the cheering was much fainter than before. The third shot struck the rocky cliff above our heads, and instead of cheers, there was anxious looking for spots that would afford some protection.

The third shot was instantly followed by a fourth, which cut a member of Co. "A" in two. Our line was then placed on the crest of the ridge, where in some places ledges of rock formed a safe retreat from a direct fire.

During the afternoon, a very heavy shower came up, and as I stood partially protected by my dripping blanket, I had a worse fit of the "blues,"—felt more despondent in fact,—than at any other time during the whole campaign. Stephen R. who had been sent to the hospital from Lost Mountain, came to us during the rain.

Monday 20th, our Regiment was on the picket line. Serg't. Laird of Co. "D" was killed, and Reddock of our Co. was slightly wounded in the foot. By this time we had several guns in position on the mountain and frequent artillery duels occured. As the shells from both sides passed over the pickets heads, frequently exploding prematurely (?) and scattering the fragments promiscously, these duels were not calculated to soothe the nerves of the men on the picket line. Our guns were generally silenced after a few rounds, after which the enemy would proceed to "shell the woods" at a furious rate.

This, or a somewhat similar performance, was of almost daily occurrance as long as we remained on that line.

Thursday, 23d, was the first clear day we had had in about two weeks. On that day there was heavy firing on our left; and as we knew that a part or all of Hood's Corps had moved from the right the day previous we supposed a regular battle was coming on.

About this time a strange incident is said to have occurred.

Lt. Col. W. E. Ross, of the 39th Miss. Reg't. feeling indisposed went to the surgeon and asked for a stimulant. By some mistake, chloraform instead of whiskey was handed him, and he swallowed the draught, and fell like a dead man. An incision was made in the trachea, and an air pump was inserted, by which life was preserved, till the effects of the drug could be counteracted. He is still in a helpless condition, and some express the conviction that he will never leave his bed again. While his home is in Mississippi, his family are said to be near Selma Alabama.

Certain orders received on Thursday 23d, led us to expect another "great falling back," that night.

Saturday 25th, our regiment went on picket again. From some cause, a portion of Co. "B" was not relieved on Sunday.—I happened to be one of the unfortunates, and that Sunday was spent disagreeably enough. The only man near enough to converse with was a member of the 35th Miss. Reg't., named Warbington, who hailed from Choctaw County, Miss.

* * * *

We were relieved Monday morning 27th, and soon after we had rejoined the regiment, the enemy made the most serious assault on our lines that he had made since leaving Resaca. Our Corps and Hardie's met the assault, and the Federals were repulsed with great loss. The right of our Brigade, where we were, was not engaged, only the picket fighting was more stubborn, and the artillery firing was hotter and more incessant all day; and we stood in readiness to meet an assault which we momentarily expected.

Late in the afternoon one of the Federal batteries began throwing shells directly at the frail breastwork behind which at the time, our company was crouched. One of these shells penetrated the earth at the base of the works, with the fuse still burning. In a spirit of rashness I leaped upon the breastwork and ran and stood directly over where it was, believing that when it exploded the fragments would all go to the rear. Another shell from the same gun elevated a little, came whizzing through the air, barely missing my feet as it exploded. Sergt. Jonathan H. Bass of our company, had at that moment stood up in the trench, directly in front of the exploded shell. I never saw a human body more horribly mutilated than his was. He was a prompt and reliable soldier.

* * * *

Still later in the afternoon I had another narrow escape. The chaplain generally sent all the religious papers that came into

his hands to me, to distribute to the different companies. Receiving a bundle of papers at this time, I proceeded to distribute them, and while I was at the extreme left of the regiment, a vigorous artillery fire on our regimental line began. I was advised by the officers not to return to my company, but as I usually did, I disregarded the admonition and started back. Something like fifty yards of the distance was simply a naked rock, and as I was passing over this, I heard a shell approaching, which by its peculiar noise, I knew was about to explode. Dropping to the ground, I crouched down with my face only a few inches from the rock. When the explosion occurred a large fragment of the shell struck the rock immediately under my face with great force and glanced off with a loud whizzing sound.

One other man mortally wounded, and some four or five others with slighter wounds, made up the regimental losses for the day.

We went on picket again Wednesday 29th. No event of special importance occurred after this time, except that we were exposed to a furious artillery fire on the afternoon of Friday July 1st and Saturday morning 2d, during which our regiment lost five or six men. Our losses at this place were light, however, in view of the fact that we were subjected to heavy firing nearly every day. Many of the solid cannon balls that were fired at us, struck the rocky crest of the mountain, and *ricocheted*, falling in and around Marietta, which was some four miles in our rear.

On Saturday night, July 2d, we abandoned our position on Kennesaw mountain, and fell back beyond Marietta passing that place about 2 o'clock Sunday morning. Going some five miles further, we formed a new line on a series of low flat ridges, known locally as the "Nickajack Hills." We were placed in position about 8 o'clock A. M. our regiment being on the picket line. About 2 o'clock P. M. the Federal skirmishers came in sight, and we kept up a spirited fight till after dark. About 10 o'clock P. M. our regiment was relieved by some of Ector's Brigade, and we "hunted" for our position in the line till midnight. Failing to find the rest of the Brigade we slept by the roadside till daylight.

Monday morning 4th, we moved about a half mile to the rear, and were placed in reserve. It seemed we were in direct range of one of the Federal batteries, and though a large number of balls fell among us, only one man in the regiment was seriously wounded all day.

That night we fell back to the Chattahoochee River, and formed a line of battle next morning. By noon our pickets and those

of the enemy were engaged. On Friday 8th our regiment was on the picket line. Though we fought all day no losses were reported. The 4th Miss. was on the picket line next day. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy charged our picket line, and drove in our men. The 36th Reg't. and Co's "B" and "K" of our regiment were sent out to retake the lost line. The 36th, supported by our two companies "Charged" in gallant style, and retook the lost ground with some ten or twelve prisoners,—the enemy leaving his dead and a few wounded men on the field. Our Brigade losses for the day were about forty killed and wounded.

Companies "G" and "E" were detached that day, and sent to the left to strengthen Maj. Rea's Battalion of sharpshooters. Two men of Co. "G" were killed, and the gallant Major himself received the wound that subsequently caused his death.

That night, Saturday 9th, we crossed the Chattahoochee River, and stopped about midway between the River and the city of Atlanta, where we remained until Monday 18th except one tour of picket duty which commenced on Sunday 10th, and ended Wednesday 13th. This picketing was done along the river bank, one Brigade going at a time. Our regiment lost three men, wounded, Tuesday 12th.

Being relieved Wednesday 13th, we returned to the halfway ground, where we bivouacked in order, and enjoyed the first "rest" we had had since the campaign opened. Friday, Saturday and Sunday, we had very interesting meetings for religious worship, during which nineteen members of the Brigade were baptized, two of whom belonged to our company. There were several others who professed conversion. Saturday night, W. C. Robertson and C. M. Reddock of Co. "I" 7th Miss. Reg't. were with us.

On Monday, 18th, we again formed a line of battle along the hills said to be on the South side of Peach Tree Creek. We had barely got in position, when the rumor came flying like wildfire down the line, that Gen. Johnston had been superseded as chief commander of the army of Tennessee, by Lt. Gen. John B. Hood. There was great indignation, among the rank and file and there were open threats of insubordination. For nearly three months we had been retreating, but the *morale* of the army was better than when the campaign opened. We knew that while we were losing ground, the enemy was losing men much more rapidly than we were, and that after a few weeks more his available force would be no greater than our own. We had seen the retreat conducted without the loss of even a broken

wagon wheel, and we had unlimited faith in the generalship of "Old Joe," as we liked to call him. We were willing to fight at any time and place he said so believing that he would not ask us to fight, unless the advantages were clearly on our side. Of Gen. Hood, we knew but little,—only the impression prevailed that he was rash to a criminal extent. We knew him to be a splendid Corps Commander, brave and reliable, but somehow we judged him to be lacking in those higher qualities that fit one for handling an independent army.

Nor did the first order that was promulgated tend to reassure the men,—or reconcile them to the change of commanders; for it was to the effect that no more picks and shovels would be allowed the men,—that we would henceforth fight no more from breastworks and rifle pits.

This order, however, was not adhered to, as the very next day picks and shovels were distributed along the line, and we were ordered to construct breastworks, which we accordingly did. The Federal army had crossed the Chattahoochie River near Roswell, and was moving down upon us from the North. Wednesday 20th went on picket again. There was a fight on Peach Tree Creek, that day, in which our forces were driven back. We abandoned the picket line along the river that night, and the next day, Thursday, 21st, our regiment did picket duty in front of our recently constructed line of breastworks.

That night we fell back to Atlanta, Gen. A. P. Stewart had been placed in command of Polk's Corps, and Stephen D. Lee had succeeded to the command of Hood's Corps. These two corps occupied the works around the city, while Gen. Hardie with his Corps, was hovering on the left wing of the enemy.

About noon on Friday 22d, Gen. Hardie attacked the enemy's left. A general, hard-fought battle ensued. Hardie's, Lee's and a part of Stewart's corps were engaged. The fight resulted in a Confederate victory, but it was purchased at a fearful sacrifice of men, and we failed to utilize the advantage gained.

I can only briefly note the events subsequently occurring on this line. We remained there till Sept. 1st, and there was continous fighting, on the picket line, and occasional discharges of Artillery. Sometimes the latter was as furious as anything of the sort I had heard all summer. On *our* part of the line, the confederate artillery had the advantage of position and caliber, and hence we suffered less annoyance from the enemy's cannon than the troops on the other parts of the line.

During our stay at Kennesaw Mountain, I became somewhat indisposed, and did not recover till the following Sept. yet I

remained at the front all the time, and nearly always took my turn of duty.

On Wednesday, July 27th, Brig. Gen. Ector was severely wounded—had his leg shot off in fact. It was rumored that promotion awaited him. All that day and the night following our troops were moving to the left, and on Thursday 28th was fought the most disastrous engagement of the whole campaign, our forces being repulsed with fearful slaughter. Our Division was not engaged. Gen's Stewart and Loring were both slightly wounded.

That day I enjoyed a blessed realization of God's goodness to me, and of the abiding presence of Son and Holy Spirit.

After the fight of the 28th, unusual quiet reigned all around our lines, till about five o'clock P. M. Monday, August 1st, when a furious shelling of our entire line came off. The day previous had been rainy. About this time a regular series of religious was inaugurated, and which was kept up as long as we remained at that place.

On Tuesday August 2d, our regiment went on the picket line, and remained three days. The picket line here was a regular line of breastworks, something like a quarter of a mile in front of our main line, and we had a line of videttes some one hundred and fifty yards in front of this. On Thursday 4th, I was on the vidette line, with a detail from the regiment. Three others occupied one post with me.—The woods all around us was so thick that we could see but a few yards in any direction. These vidette posts were some fifteen or twenty yards apart, wholly out of sight of each other, and consisted of flimsy piles of rails or rotting logs, or anything that would stop a bullet.

About 3 o'clock P. M. the firing at our post became so much hotter than usual, that I became satisfied the enemy was approaching. In a minute or two they were nearly upon us, and judging by the direction of the bullets that they were on both flanks, we slowly retired—being the last to leave our position. About half way to the picket line was the edge of the woods, the rest of the distance being an open field. At the edge of the wood, I halted while the others went on. While my stop was less than two minutes, it enabled the others to reach the shelter of the picket line, and when I started across the open field I drew the fire of seemingly several scores of Yankees,—I did more than "double-quicked,"—I fairly ran across the open field with the bullets cutting the dirt all around me, and singing about my ears. I reached the picket line in safety but I was completely winded.

The 4th Reg't. came to our support, and our regiment charged

into the woods, retook our lost line and secured a few prisoners. The regiment lost 21 men,—our company having lost F. M. Howell wounded, and W. T. J. Bass missing—Among the badly wounded was Capt. D. C. Durham of Co. "K" and among the killed was Serg't. Caughman of Co. "G." In speaking of this incident one of our company remarked, "I always said, if I ever went into a charge, I wouldn't 'holler'! But the very first time I fired off my gun, I hollered as loud as I could, and I hollered every breath till we stopped!"

On Friday 5th, we were relieved, and Saturday 6th, our Division pressed the enemy's line in our front, the Brigade losing about thirty men.

On Sunday 7th, S. J. Harper of our Company, with several others, was baptized in the name of Christ. I was truly glad the Lord had touched *his* heart, and constrained him to take this step. For several days there was but little activity displayed on either side.

On Sunday, August 14th, occurred the saddest event of the whole campaign. On that day, my messmate, Stephen Robertson was killed. The circumstances were briefly these: The regiment had been detailed the night before to work on the picket line, the right wing working from midnight till day. The men had just returned to the main line, and remarking that he was hungry, my friend set to work to prepare his breakfast. As he was thus engaged, a minnie-ball, fired from some point a mile away, perhaps, struck him. It entered just below and behind the right arm and ranged downward, lodging near the skin just above the left hip. The only rational words he uttered were "Lay me down!" addressed to Lt. Buchanan who caught him as he staggered on being struck. He twice muttered incoherently, once saying "want to live!" and at another time "my poor family!" He died without a struggle some ten minutes after being shot, and as we bore him on a litter to the Surgeon's tent.

He was buried as decently as possible under the circumstances. His grave is about a mile Southwest of Atlanta, on the farm of Mr. Jett. It is about two hundred and fifty yards South of the dwelling and is on the east side of the road. I marked the spot by putting up a durable board, with full name, Co. Reg't. and date of death upon it, and upon the center of the grave I placed a white stone about as large as a man's head.

Sleep on! Comrade, friend and brother, till the Lord shall call sleeping ones to meet him in the clouds!

His brother, W. C. R. was present at the burial, and brother Lattimore made a talk and offered prayer at the grave.

That night we went on picket again, and remained till the night of Wednesday 17th. There were no casualties of importance in the regiment and no unusual occurrence along the lines.

On Saturday, 20th, we again went on the picket line This was an exceedingly unpleasant trip. It was raining all the time, and the fire of the enemy was very close and very heavy. The 35th Reg't. had permanently lost the vidette line the day previous, and the enemy's pickets had advanced their position, till they could pour a hot fire into our main picket line.

On Monday, 22d, Z. F. Duckworth of Co. "B" was wounded while assisting in carrying a wounded comrade to the rear. The wound, though slight, resulted in his death some days afterward. Orderly Serg't. James Garrett of Co. "A" and private Thos. Stewart of Co. "G" were both killed that day, and Rev. John Fletcher of Co. "H" was severely wounded. We were relieved Tuesday 23d.

On Thursday 25th, and the day following, the enemy withdrew from our immediate front. Our Division made a reconnoisance in force on Saturday 27th. We went till we encountered a strong Federal force on the east bank of the Chattahoochee River at Pace's Ferry. After some skirmishing we returned to the ditches at Atlanta, leaving one Brigade about two miles out, as pickets. On this day W. C. Robertson of Co. "I" 7th Miss. Reg't. having effected an exchange with John R. Barnes of our Company came to us.

As we passed outside of our lines on this occassion, the woods between our picket line and that of the enemy presented a strange appearance. The undergrowth was very thick, (there was but little else) and had been cut away by bullets, about the height of a man's breast, almost as evenly as the stubble in a grain field after the grain has been cut.

Sunday 28th we enjoyed the first rest we had had for some weeks. That day a Presbyterian preacher named Markham from New Orleans, preached in our encampment. His remarks were founded on Isaiah 53:3, "He was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." It was one of the most eloquent sermons I ever heard in my life. Lt. A. H. McLaurin and others united with his church that afternoon.

Monday 29th, our regiment went on picket alone. I was on vidette duty night, and though no danger was apparent yet I felt more lonely and apprehensive than usual. Four men were placed under me, and we were sent to occupy an isolated hill on the right of the line. This hill was covered with deserted Federal works, and since there were no troops on *our* right, I

felt an unaccountable uneasiness. Sometimes an indefinable dread comes over one with no apparent cause. In ninety nine cases out of every hundred perhaps, it passes away as unaccountably as it came. In this instance, however, the danger that seemed so imminent all night as to keep me wide awake, came in the early morning. We were relieved at daylight, but by the time we had reached the regiment the enemy appeared and drove our videttes from their position. We fought him so stubbornly from our regimental line, that he soon withdrew to a more healthy locality.

Immediately after this encounter, we were relieved, and went back to the ditches. The weather for some days had been very pleasant and beautiful.

Gen. Sherman's movement on Jonesboro had so far developed by this time, that Hardie's and Lee's Corps, had been sent against him leaving our Corps and the State troops to man the works about Atlanta. We busily occupied ourselves in strengthening our works.

On Thursday, Sept. 1st, was fought the disastrous battle of Jonesboro, which necessitated the evacuation of the "Gate City." By 12 o'clock M. we were informed that this step would have to be taken, and although our regiment had been on fatigue duty all day, we were dispatched about 2 o'clock P. M. to the depot in the city, to destroy an ordnance train and other Government stores.

I never witnessed such wholesale destruction of property before. The ordnance stores alone, that we destroyed were said to be valued at *Six Million Dollars.* Finding a lot of fine new English Tower Rifles, we armed ourselves with them, and equipped ourselves better than we had ever been equipped before. We broke our old guns at the breach, bent the barrels and threw them into a pond of water, into which we also threw several car loads of ammunition. After wrecking several R. R. Locomotives by running them together, we returned to the ditches arriving there about dark.

About 9 o'clock P. M. our Brigade was put in motion. Our Corps moved on the lower McDonough Road, while the State Troops and most of the wagon trains moved on the upper or left hand road. As our line of march was nearly Southeast, the enemy was on our right flank. (G. G. & W. C. R. both being unwell, did not march with the command and did not join it till the 6th.)

After turning our backs on Atlanta, our progress was exceedingly slow, but there was no stop through the night. The road

was thronged with men, women and children, and all sorts of vehicles with all sorts of loads, trying to get away from the abandoned city. A fire also had broken out in the city as we supposed, for the Northern sky was lighted up, and we frequently heard explosions as though ordnance stores were burning.

At daylight we were not over six miles from the city, and yet we had not stopped five minutes at a time since we started. Nor did we halt now. Throughout the entire day the slow tramp was kept up, the only halt being made at one point, where we formed a battle array on the right and parallel with the road, till our wagon trains had passed a certain threatened point. We halted here about forty-five minutes after which the monotonous march was resumed. Already the men were falling from exhaustion, some even dying where they fell. But all through the afternoon and into the night, we plodded on.

It was shortly after 10 o'clock P. M. some twenty-five hours after starting, that I fell in the road. I remember a slower movement caused by some obstruction ahead of us, and the next thing I remember was a horse's foot striking my face. At the same time the rider said to a companion, "Here lies another man." I crawled to the side of the road, and by the starlight I saw that I was in a lane. I climbed over a fence and lay down under an appletree. At daylight I awoke and found that Isaac and Henry Hester of our company were under another tree a few yards distant. We followed the trail of the command about a mile, and found where they had bivoucked.

The roads forked here, and my two companions insisted on going the left hand route. As the army had gone the other road I followed it. In an hour or two I overtook Jones and Everett of Co. "H" who, like myself, were "straggling." We traveled all that day, (Saturday 3d) but failed to overtake the command. In the afternoon we learned from some scouts, that the enemy were in the road just ahead of us. We made a masterly flank movement through the woods to the left till we found another road. Stopping for the night we started early next morning, and pretty soon found ourselves again headed off by the enemy. A repetition of yesterday's flank movement became necessary, which we executed at once. All that day we tramped along crooked settlement roads, and at night slept in an unused dwelling-house, starting from there next morning we soon came to a Confederate picket post, and were informed that the Federal pickets were only a short distance beyond where we slept.

That day (Monday 5th) we overtook the command. The Bri-

gade was in line of battle behind some breastworks, while there was picket fighting in front. We soon learned that our regiment was on the picket line, but as it was then late in the afternoon, and we were informed that the pickets would be relieved at dark, we proceeded no further. I soon found two or three of Co. "B" however. They had brought Z. M. Rodgers from off the picket line. A minnie ball had struck him in the mouth, slightly cutting his upper lip, and knocking out two or three teeth. His uncle removed the ball with his finger, but the poor boy never moved or spoke again, and died two or three days afterwards. He was a steady boy, a brave soldier and an earnest Christian.

This was the most extensive, and really, the only "straggling" I had ever done, I felt ashamed of it, but I was quite weak, having been rather indisposed for some time. We fared pretty well in our straggling, as we found plenty of field peas, and potatoes, (both Irish and sweet) on the farms as we passed. These farms had been abandoned by their owners, with very few exceptions. On this trip I learned to eat tomatoes.

The army was now entrenched near Lovejoy Station, some thirty miles, I think, south of Atlanta, on the Macon R. Road. That night the enemy withdrew from our front, returning to Atlanta. Our regiment followed a few miles next morning but succeeded in capturing one solitary straggler only, who informed us that the Federals were "going back to Atlanta to elect a President."

Most of the other stragglers came in this day (Tuesday 6th). We occupied the trenches until Friday, 9th, when we went into camp near the depot. This was really the first "rest" we had had all summer. We understood that a ten days' armistice was to begin on the 12th, and we made preparations for a stay of several days. Of the object of this armistice I know absolutely nothing, indeed I very much doubt that any such thing was ever proposed, much less agreed upon. I know that many families left their homes in Atlanta, were driven out we understood by the torch of the captors.

Our chaplains chose this opportunity to labor in the Master's Vineyard, and an interesting series of meetings commenced at once. It pleased the Father to bless the labors of his servants. Many professed conversion and were baptized, and Christians generally enjoyed an abundant out-pouring of the Holy Spirit in their midst. It was indeed a gracious revival, and afforded the people of God an opportunity to sit "together—in heavenly places in Christ Jesus." Thursday, 15th was set apart as a day

of Fasting and Prayer, which was generally observed in the army, especially by Christians.

In a day or two after going into Camp, we began a regular routine of drills, dress parades and inspections. On Wednesday 14th, our Division was reviewed by Lt. Gen. A. P. Stewart, and on Friday 16th, Gen. Hood reviewed our Corps.

The removal of Gen. Johnston in July, caused great indignation in our part of the army at least, and the reverses that had since befallen us, had tended neither to allay or mollify the feeling. On the contrary, it seemed to be intensified, and hence it was with distrustful glances we looked upon our brave but rash Commander-in-chief.

We received orders to march on Saturday 17th, and on Sunday 18th at 2 o'clock P. M. we started. Our course was due West, and as usual speculations were rife as to our destination. The few days rest had wrought a wonderful change in the spirits and outward appearance of the men. They hardly seemed like the same troops that had come out of Atlanta two weeks before.

It had rained before we started, and was still raining, rendering the road we moved on exceedingly heavy and disagreeable. After a march of about ten miles we halted for the night. Next morning we passed through the Village of Fayetteville, where the Federals had intercepted and destroyed one of our wagon trains during the Summer. It is beautifully situated and is the site of Fayette County.

About an hour before sunset, we passed the ruins of Palmetto, once a flourishing village on the West Point railroad, about thirty miles west of South from Atlanta. It had been burned by the Federals some months previous. Marching some four miles further, we halted for the night, having traveled in all, that day, some eighteen or twenty miles. Starting again next morning, we marched till 10 o'clock A. M. when we halted, formed a line of battle, and at once began to strengthen our position by throwing up breastworks. This was done probably as much to keep the men employed as for any other purpose; for it certainly prevented a great deal of "promiscuous foraging" or *stealing* to call it by its right name. For unfortunately, we had some men who seemingly preferred stealing an article to getting it in any other way. Whether an attack was ever apprehended or not, we fortified a line some ten miles long, facing Atlanta, the right of which rested on the West Point, R. R. and the left on the Chattahoochie River.

Having completed the work assigned us, we went into Camp

Friday 23d. On the same day we held an election in Company "B" for Jr. 2d Lt. Major Constantine Rea, having died on the 14th of Sept. as the result of the wound received July 9th, Capt. T. D. Magee was immediately promoted to the rank of Major. This should have been done, last April; but from some cause Maj. Rea failed in his examination for Lt. Col. Magee, however, was *assigned to duty* as Major, leaving 1st Lt. Buchanan in command of the company. Rea's death opened the way for Magee's and Buchanan's promotion, and hence the vacancy. F. E. Collins, our Orderly Serg't. was elected.

Monday 26th, we were reviewed by President Davis. His reception was much less cordial than usual. To a large extent he is held responsible for the reverses the Army of Tennessee has sustained since Johnston's removal.

As indicative of the spirit pervading the army, I will relate a single incident. As the Presidential party passed in front of our Brigade, Col. Clarke, who was a small man, with a thin voice, cried out "Three cheers for President Davis, and Gen. Hood!" Waving aloft his sword, he, with one or two others raised a feeble yell. Instantly some one, in the rank in ringing tones cried out "Three cheers for Gen. Joe Johnston!" They were given with a will, the other regiments caught on and in twenty-five seconds the whole line of Sear's Brigade was "making the welkin ring" with the regular "rebel yell." For once in his life, Mr. Davis turned to look back as if to see whence this unseemly demonstration originated.

We received marching orders Wednesday 28th, and at 2 o'clock P. M. next day we started. Owing to some unexplained delay it was 9 o'clock at night when we reached the river. A pontoon bridge with a great sag in the center spanned the stream. The night was very dark, but there were men with torches to give us light, at intervals along the bridge and at each end. The swaying of the structure as we walked made it feel like an insecure crossing.

After reaching the western bank we marched about five miles further, and halted till morning. Next day, Friday, 30th, we marched about fifteen miles by 2 o'clock P. M. and halted for the night near a little hamlet called Brownsville. We did not move from our position on Saturday, Oct. 1st it being a day of almost incessant raining.

Sunday 2d, we moved at 10 o'clock A. M. and marched about twelve miles. The direction of our route had so changed that we were traveling a little east of North, and when the air was

clear we could[1] the bulk of Kinnesaw mountain, in the distance. That night there was more heavy raining, yet we were in motion again at an early hour on Monday 3d. About the first feat we performed that day was to wade a wide, deep creek. About noon we came to the village of Lost Mountain,—or rather where the village was last May. Now all the fences and every house save two or three had been burned. It was a desolate looking spot. Soon after passing this place the rain again set in, and there was no intermission till near nightfall, when it changed to a heavy mist.

About sunset we struck the railroad about a mile below Big Shanty, and at once began tearing up the track, burning the cross ties and heating and bending the rails.

Loring's Division was in advance of ours, and they had captured about forty prisoners at Big Shanty, and the next morning at Acworth, the next Station above, they captured about two hundred more. The other two corps,—Hardie's and Lee's,—were at and below Lost Mountain and did not reach the Railroad east of the Etowah River at all.

We labored at this work of destroying the track till about 3 o'clock A. M. Tuesday, 4th, when we desisted till daylight. It was still raining, but we managed to get some two or three hours sleep. Next morning skirmishers from Cockrell's Brigade, met the Federals who were moving up from Marietta in considerable force. A detachment of skirmishers from our Brigade, also became engaged.

We remained in the vicinity of the depot at Big Shanty till about 1 o'clock P. M. when we moved in the direction of Acworth, which place we reached about dark. All the forenoon we had been filling a deep cut at Big Shanty, with logs, trees and stones, and dirt.

From Acworth to Allatoona is about seven miles by railroad, yet our route was so crooked and our progress so slow that we were practically all night in traversing the distance. We arrived in the vicinity of Allatoona an hour or two before day on Wednesday 5th, and lay down in the mud and slept a little.

As soon as daylight, we began to put ourselves in position for the assault. Gen. French, it is said, should not have fought this battle. True, Gen. Stewart, had ordered him to take the garrison, but it is claimed that this order was given under the belief that the garrison did not exceed one thousand men and

[1] See.

that Gen. French should have discovered the excess sooner and not sacrificed his men.

But wherever the blame, if any, should properly lie it was certainly a disastrous affair. Our Division consisted of not over two thousand effective men, and nearly one half of these were lost. Prisoners who were captured, said the garrison numbered twenty eight hundred, some of their newspapers said a corps was engaged. They were strongly fortified and a formidable line of obstructions in their front rendered an approach to their works exceedingly difficult.

In the face of these odds and difficulties an assault was ordered, after a demand for the surrender of the place had been treated with silent contempt.

Our Division only was engaged, and it is probable that our Brigade sustained the greatest loss. Three of Co. "B" were killed on the field, viz: Serg't. J. P. Williamson, and Privates Adelbert McNair, and J. V. Reddock. The first was a member of a Baptist Church, and I believe he tried to live a consistent Christian life. The other two had never professed religion at all.—George Robertson was missing, W. P. Sullivan was slightly wounded in the knee, and these with our wounded made up the casualties of Co. "B." I have never ascertained the loss in the Regiment, but it was very heavy. Col. W. H. Clarke was killed while gallantly leading the third and last charge. Capt. B. D. Anderson of Co. "H" and 1st Leiut. G. D. Davis, of Co. "G" were also killed.

The assault lasted over three hours, and as we failed to dislodge the enemy, we were drawn off, he making no effort to follow us. His loss in killed and wounded was doubtless heavy. We captured about two hundred prisoners and two stands of colors. The flag of the 35th Miss. Reg't. was unfortunately lost.

I hope I may be pardoned for a more minute and circumstantial account of this fight.

I felt assured all the morning that it was a more serious undertaking than many seemed to think it was, and when an officer remarked that taking the place was only "a breakfast task," I assured him that anybody was welcome to *my* share of *that* breakfast. As the danger began to thicken around me the words of the Psalmist came vividly into my mind. "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." Relying on God's protecting mercy I went forward.

The first "charge" was down a hillside facing the enemy's position. At the base was the railroad. We made a slight halt

here, reformed our lines and started forward again. This time we were going up the hill on which the enemy was posted. There were acres of obstructions to be passed, mostly of timber that had been felled for that purpose, then a heavy skirmish line, and behind them a line of palisades, or timbers one end in the ground and the upper end projecting forward. Over and through these obstructions we made our way in the second charge. Our loss was heavy, Reddock being killed a few paces from the railroad. We killed or captured nearly all their pickets, and after passing the palisades we halted under the crest of the hill where we were partially sheltered from the storm of bullets that was whistling over our heads.

The obstructions had been so difficult to overcome that all order was lost, the men of the different regiments being thrown promiscuously together. A few steps in front of us were the Federal tents, and beyond them, thirty yards perhaps, was the line of breastworks, the intervening space being almost as smooth and level as a floor. A sharp rise of about four feet was between us and the tents.

After a slight effort to reform the lines, the command "forward" was given, and somebody called out "the 46th goes ahead." Inwardly commending my soul to my Savior, I mounted the crest of the hill, and turning and waving my hat, I shouted at the top of my voice, "Come on boys! the 46th goes ahead!" With a wild yell, a few of us,—some twenty five or thirty perhaps,—dashed through an opening between the tents. Oh! what a devastating hailstorm of bullets met us! In thirty seconds or less only two of us were left,—Bro. Lt. R. B. Henderson of Co. "K"—than whom no braver soldier or more earnest Christian never lived or died on "freedom's field of honor," and myself. Already a ball had struck my gun, flattening the barrel, cutting the stock and the rammer entirely in two, and taking out a small bit of my right forefinger. Thinking my gun would still do for a club, I did not throw it away. Henderson staggered and began falling, crying as he did so "Bro. Chambers, I am gone!" I caught him and easing him down dropped on my knees beside him, grasping his hand in mine. Both hands were bleeding freely. "My dear brother," I said, "what is the ground of your hope?" "My only hope is Christ." he replied, and then added, "Pray for me." There, amid the roar of the battle, the shouts and the groans of the wounded I lifted my heart and my voice to God, in behalf of the dying saint beside me. He slightly pressed my hand, and as another ball struck him, he exclaimed "Oh, brother, I have received my third

wound!" I felt the bullet cutting my clothing and equipments, and felt a stinging, bounding blow on my shoulder. "Good bye!" he exclaimed. It was the last word he ever spoke, for there was a spasmodic clasp of his fingers, then their grasp relaxed. I glanced at his face, a ball had entered his brain—he was dead.

Finding I could not use my arm, I lay down behind the body of my friend, I could hear and feel the balls as they struck the corpse. I saw a Federal line advance on my right and pour a volley at short range into the faces of our men, and I saw an officer jump up and wave his sword in exultation over the result of the volley. I wanted a gun that would shoot, so that I might try to bring him down, and stop his foolishness. Realizing how helpless I was, I resolved to leave the field. A bar of soap was lying on a stump near me, and I thought of taking it with me. There were also two or three magazine rifles lying near me, on the ground, and I thought of securing one or more of these. (I was between the Federal tents and the breastworks, and could see the color of the eyes of the men as they raised up to fire.)

When there seemed a sort of lull in the firing I arose and ran back to where the crest of the hill afforded some protection to our men. Finding I was about to fall I lay down, after vainly looking for some one of my company. A man gave me a drink of water. I think I fainted, for the next thing I remember was that Maxey of our Co. was pulling at me as I lay on my face, and asking if I were badly hurt. Assuring him that my hurt was "very slight," I raised myself to a sitting posture and removed my cartridge box, which I found had been pierced by a minnie ball, about half the ball protruding on the side next my body.

After resting a minute or two more, I started to the rear. I passed Col. Barry, and his regiment (the 35th) Col. B had his arm in a sling and I saw it was bloody. "Serg't, are you hurt?" he inquired as soon as he saw me. "A little," I replied. "The rascals have shot my shoulder all to pieces," he said, and I passed on. Two or three others asked me if I were wounded, and one man said he saw the hole in my coat. After resting two or three times I reached the Brigade Surgeon's post. There, some one removed my coat and I saw that the sleeve was full of blood. Up to that time I had no thought the ball had penetrated the flesh.

After a hasty examination, Dr. Dunn said I must go to the Division hospital to have the ball extracted. I started alone, and after a great deal of suffering and two or three fainting

spells, I reached the place to find them already in the act of leaving. Feeling unable to walk another step, I despaired of getting off the field. I requested Lt. McLaurin, whom I found there to write to father when he could, and tell him of my condition and where he saw me last. About that time the driver of a hospital wagon said "We can take one more wounded man from Sears' Brigade." "Here he is," sang out McLaurin, and he and one or two others lifted me into the wagon. As we turned into the road, our own brigade was filing by.

I had been hauled less than half a mile, when some men on horseback rode up, one of whom was wounded in the foot. I exchanged conveyances with him, but after riding half a mile further, I found that the horsemen were ordered on a different road. Dismounting, I waited till my own command came up, and Capt. Buchanan kindly ordered W. C. R. to remain with me till we got to some place where I could be taken care of.

We were ordered to New Hope Church, but we failed to keep up with the command. Before night, I was delirious, and R. and I lay in an old cabin on the road side that night. I was in great pain all night, next morning I could hardly stand on my feet, and the rain was falling in torrents. A negro came by leading Col. Barry's horse, R. hailed him, and I was placed on the horse and rode to New Hope Church, distant about four miles.

The command was in line to move, when we arrived and again I could have no medical attention. By this time my wound was so painful that I could not ride on horseback or in a wagon, and the ambulances were all filled with men more severely wounded than myself, and so I walked the balance of the day. Gen. Sears after kindly inquiring as to the nature of my injury, advised me not to report to any hospital, but to go directly home, and remain there until I was entirely well.

We moved in the direction of Rome, and after a march of about six miles, halted for the night. Dr. McCormich examined my wound at dusk, and probed in it for the ball, but it was so badly swollen, and was already beginning to suppurate, he could not trace the ball after it struck the bone. For the first time it was dressed.

The next morning (the 7th) my attendant returned to the command, but we were frequently together all that day and the next. On the 7th we traveled about eighteen miles, and spent the night near a place called Van Wirt. I rode in a wagon a little once or twice, but the pain was so excruciating, that I chose to walk.

Saturday 8th, we reached Cedar Town after a march of about twelve miles. Houses to stay in were procured here and about three hundred wounded men and a number of attendants and ten days' rations, were left.

Sunday night, however, orders were received for all who were able to walk to go to Cave Springs twelve miles further. Monday 10th we started, and reached Cave Springs a little after noon, to find that no arrangements what ever had been made for our reception. We were informed, however, that we must try to make our way to Jacksonville, Ala.

J. S. Addy of Co. "H," W. P. Sullivan of our company and I formed a squad of our own and started. We traveled about seven miles, and stopped at a man's house that night where we slept on the floor, using our blankets for bedding. Tuesday 11th we traveled about eighteen miles, and staid all night at the home of Mrs. Griffin, near Cross Plains, where we were most kindly treated. Two men of Cockrell's Brigade, one of whom was wounded also stopped there that night.

Wednesday, 12th, we started quite early and about noon reached Jacksonville, where we found a large train of army wagons on the way to Blue Mountain. Mounting one of the wagons and clinging to it despite the jolts, we reached Blue Mountain about dark, where we found no preparations at all, not not even a stick of firewood on the ground. We were ordered, however, to have our names, rank, commands and the nature of our wounds registered. Seeing that this was an all-night job, I called all our regiment together, made out the list myself, and told them to go and try to sleep. Placing myself in the line, I got into the tent at last, and handed in my list. It was now midnight, and beginning to rain. Returning to the depot, I found that thrifty Joe Addy had secured an ear of corn. We divided and parched it, and slept some around the depot in the rain.

About 7 o'clock next morning, (Thursday, 13th) the train pulled out for Selma, where we arrived about 3 o'clock P. M. Another registration here took till night. At the "Wayside Home," a slight supper was given us, which was very acceptable to most of us.

An incident of this day's travel was pleasing to contemplate. As we rode on the train, I was eating a grain of parched corn occasionally to allay the pangs of hunger. Some one from behind touched my shoulder and looking round I saw a big Texan holding out a handful of "Cracker dust" which he had fished from

the bottom of his haversack. I took it and added it to the few grains of corn on hand, invoking a blessing on the donor.

At 5 o'clock P. M. we went on board the Steamer "Coquette" ready to start to Montgomery. Here, for the first time, I heard music played by steam. The Steamer "R. B. Taney," preceded us a few minutes and her calliope executed several pieces, among them "Dixie" which I thought was fine.

We reached Montgomery about 8 o'clock A. M. Friday, 14th. One hundred of us were sent to "St. Mary's Hospital," and the remainder were distributed among the other hospitals in the city. *We* were in the first detachment.

After "registering" again, we were bathed, clean clothes were put on us and we were shown our beds. Dinner, the first regular meal since leaving Mrs. Griffins at Cross Plains, was served at 2 o'clock P. M. It was ample, however, and we did it ample justice.

Addy and I were placed in a room on the second floor with Capts. Alexander Archer, 30th Miss Reg't. W. N. Noakes, 31st Miss. and J. H. Wakefield, 25th Ark, as room-mates. They were all nice men, especially Archer and Wakefield, who remained there as long as I did. Our lodgings were good, nurses attentive, and there was nothing to complain of, only the fare was not always suitable for sick men.

We could get passes to go out in the city, and I one day went out with Addy and ate dinner at a private house. I was in great pain, however, and did not enjoy the trip.

On the night of the 24th I suffered intensely, and when the surgeon examined the wound next morning, he found a swollen, inflamed place some two or three inches from where the bullet entered. Requesting the nurse to bring up his case of instruments he said to me, "You were soldier enough to get shot, I reckon you are soldier enough to have the ball cut out." I told him I had no choice in the matter of getting shot, but I guessed the ball would have to come out.

After everything was prepared and Capts. Wakefield and Archer sat one on each side holding my hands, the surgeon hesitated for some time, looking first at the wounded shoulder and then at the other. At last he said "Chambers, I don't like to cut there!" Then, as if pulling himself together, he said, "Well, turn your head away, I don't want you to look at me!"

The first stroke of the scalpel struck the bullet. It proved to be only a part of the original missile. Dr. Britts,—the surgeon, —indulged in considerable profanity, when he saw, this, and he probed for the rest which hurt much worse than the cutting did.

It was just twenty days after being shot that the bullet was extracted.

About the 27th, Addy was transferred to the Hospital at Columbus, Ga. I wished to go too, but the surgeon said I was too weak to stand the trip. On Sunday 30th Addy came back on his way home with a sixty day furlough. I spent the afternoon with him on the streets, and saw him board the steam boat just at night.

As soon as he was gone I went to the surgeon and asked for a transfer to Columbus, stating my reasons for the request. He informed me that he had just received orders to make no more transfers. Thus it seemed my last hope of obtaining a furlough was cut off. I "went and told Jesus", and soon a sweet spirit of resignation seemed to fill my whole heart.

Next morning, Monday, 31st, I was ordered to go before the Examining Board, which was to meet that afternoon. As a result of the examination I was granted a sixty days furlough, beginning that very day. It was night Tuesday Nov. 1st, however, before I left on the boat for home. The night was stormy and we had to stop a while on account of the weather. We were further delayed by an accident which befell the captain of the boat. Being intoxicated, he fell from the hurricane deck, and striking a cask was so badly hurt that he died in a few minutes.

We arrived at Selma about sunrise, and I "double-quicked" all that I was able, to the depot, and arrived there just in time to see the train pull out of the station. So another day of my furlough was spent in Selma. I received good fare and lodgings at the "Wayside Home" however. Thursday 3d, I was on the train before daylight, and we left the station about 7 o'clock A. M.—Soon after starting we were informed that dinner would be prepared at Uniontown for all soldiers; but when we reached that place, the rain was pouring down, and there was nobody in sight. We reached Demopolis, a town of some size and very deep mud, situated on the East bank of the Tombigbee River, about 1 o'clock P. M. We at once went on board a little steamer, named "Marengo" and went down the river about four miles to McDowell's Landing. Here we boarded another train, and pulled out for Meridian, which place we reached about 9 o'clock P. M.

At Meridian I met a Mr. McGill of Smith County, and made arrangements to travel with him from Enterprise (where his wagon was) to Taylorville.[1] About 11 o'clock P. M. the train

[1] Taylorsville

on the M. & O. R. R. arrived, and boarding it I reached Enterprise about 1 o'clock A. M. Friday 4th. Both Meridian and Enterprise were burned last February, by Gen. Sherman. We left Enterprise about 8 o'clock A. M. and found the bridge across Suenlovie Creek washed away, so we had to go back a few miles and try another road. All this took time and I ate dinner with a Mrs. Jennings to whom I paid the last dollar I possessed.

When we reached the creek again its banks were overflowed, and I waded ahead of the team for more than a hundred yards. The night was cold and we camped in the woods about six miles east of Paulding, Saturday 5th, I traveled with the wagon till nearly night when I went on ahead and, and spent the night with gentleman named Thigpen where I was well treated. Next morning, with shame I confessed that I had no money; but Mr. T. informed me that he did not charge soldiers.

Sunday, 6th, I parted with Mr. McGill, and spent the night with Mrs. Rhoda Easterling. Not till that afternoon had I learned that her son and my former messmate was dead. The arm was amputated, he recovered, went home and became able to handle tools with his left hand. He cut his knee with an ax, in Sept. The wound inflamed, became gangrenous, and killed him. Thus I only am left of our mess as we constituted it at Vicksburg in May 1862.

Monday 7th I arrived at home. God has dealt mercifully with me.

Meridian, Miss. December 30th: This cold day I am seated in the sunshine to resume my Journal.

I left home last Monday 26th accompanied by John Self who was to go with me one day, and lead back the horse I rode. The morning was cloudy and I felt sad at leaving home. I had heard nothing definite from my command, while at home and had suffered greatly nearly the whole time with aching teeth. I had learned, however, through a letter to his wife that G. G. R. was in prison at Camp Chase, Ohio, and that W. T. J. Bass was there also. Vague rumors were afloat of reverses on the field of battle, and a general gloom seemed to pervade the very air.

After traveling three or four miles, we suddenly came upon a squad of deserters. The first intimation I had of their presence was as I was fording a very small creek. On the opposite bank, partly screened by bushes and less than fifteen feet away stood four men with double barrelled shotguns cocked and pointed full at my breast. I was personally acquainted with every one of

them,—in fact, one of them belonged to my company, and until after the fall of Vicksburg, made a good soldier. I looked them squarely in the face, as I rode by them, and though each one addressed me by name, I made no response whatever.

As the day wore on the clouds dispersed and we reached Raleigh, some thirty miles from our starting point, about nightfall. We spent the night with Jno. W. Harvey,—ex-Capt. of the first company I joined * * * * and who entertained us very handsomely.

Tuesday morning my companion started on his return home, and after seeing him mounted and on his way, I also took up the line of March. I had quite a heavy knapsack to carry, having some clothing for one or two others. The road was muddy, and after a tramp of nineteen miles, I was fairly tired out. I stopped for the night at the hamlet of Homewood in Scott County, and put up at the tavern where I was well fed and lodged, for which I paid two dollars. I here met a Dr. Pardue, a relative of Lt. Col. Pardue of our Brigade, who was killed last June, whom I found to be an interesting companion. I also read some in a book called "Moses and the Prophets," which I had long wished to see.

Starting early next morning, (Wednesday 28th) I reached Forest about noon, after walking nine miles over the worst road I ever saw. The train came about 1 o'clock P.M., and I was soon traveling over the same road where I had taken my first ride. Things appeared quite differently now from what they did then. This was especially true in regard to a certain hill, which, at first sight, I thought was almost a mountain; and I was thrilled at the bare idea of standing on its top. Now its "magnitude" was too insignificant to wake any enthusiasm at all, I suppose I am getting "traveled."

I was depressed in spirits, too, for I had learned that the army of Tennessee had sustained an overwhelming defeat, and I knew that it would be days before I could reach my command, if indeed, any of them were left.

We reached Meridian about dark. It was understood that the enemy had possession of the Railroad in North Mississippi, and I have as yet, made no effort to go any further. Maj. Parton of the 36th Miss. Reg't. is here and will probably take charge of all of Sears' Brigade. He expresses the opinion that Gen. Hood will never be able to recross the Tennessee River with his army; but that all will be killed or captured in a few more days. I think the Major is demoralized. But surely the prospect is a gloomy one. I daily thank God that I have been led to trust

him and that I can realize that every interest of nations as well as individuals is safe in his hands.

I observe today that Government property is being moved from this place, in anticipation, I suppose of a visit from the enemy. It is rumored this afternoon that he has left the vicinity of the railroad above here. The weather is quite cold, and I find the vicinity of the depot, a sorry resting-place after the comforts of home. The *cause*, however, demands this hardship at my hands, and there *is* a pleasure in suffering in the discharge of duty.

One Mile West of West Point, Miss. Sunday, January 1, 1865. I *must* write a little tonight, for my heart is full of *tears!* I have been told today, on seemingly good authority, that only one hundred and sixty men are left of all Sears' Brigade. If this be true, how can I convey the mournful tiding to the waiting hearts at home. I can hardly refrain from shedding tears, when I think of all the noble lives have been sacrificed in vain. I can only pray to my God, and trust that the calamity may not be as sweeping as it is represented.

I remained at Meridian until Saturday Dec. 31st. On Friday night I went to the Wayside Home, where I had good fare and lodgings.

While there I listened to a sermon on the New Birth, by a man named James, who is a missionary to the Confederate Hospitals. It was an able sermon. During the night we were visited by a storm of wind, rain and hail, and next morning the air was bitterly cold.

Learning that a train would go up that day, I got ready and sure enough we started, at 9:30 o'clock A.M.—I saw but little of the country and do not know the names of all the stations we passed. As I remember them, however, they are as follows: After leaving Meridian the first station is Marion Sta. some three miles from the old town of that name, and which is the county site of Lauderdale County. It was burned last Winter. The next Station is Lockhart, which was also burned. Then we reach the famous "Lauderdale Springs". I think the village as well as the Springs are some distance from the Railroad, at least if we could see the whole place, the name and the reputation are bigger than the thing itself. The next is Tancola, and then Sucarnatchie, then Gainesville Junction, where a branch road leading to Gainesville, Ala., intersects the main line of the M. & O. R. R.—Then comes Scooba, a nice little town, then Wahalak, and then Sugualak, and then we reach Macon, the county site of Noxubee County, and at this time the Capital of the State of Mississippi.

In consequence of numerous delays it was 9 o'clock P.M. when we reached Macon, and we "lay over" until 8 o'clock this morning. The night was cold, but I slept some in my seat. It was not a restful night, however, for there was a Battalion of "Galvinized Yankees" aboard, who were, without exception, the lowest and most debased looking set of men I ever saw. They are Federal prisoners who have enlisted in our army, They are ignorant, noisy and thievish, and are a discredit to any civilized army. It is said they fight well, but somehow, I feel that I would rather have them in the Federal army than in our own; for such men have no lot in the South and no place among its defenders.

I did not see the town of Macon at all, as it is a mile off the Railroad. I saw several church spires, however, and heard the bells calling to worship before we started. All soldiers belonging to the army of Tennessee, it is said were ordered to stop at Macon, but failing to learn anything definite in regard to such an order. I came on.

After leaving Macon, the first station I remember is Brooksville, which is a nice place, then Crawford, where there is no town at all. Then comes Artesia, where the branch road leading to Columbus intersects the main line. The next is Mayhew, then Tibbe, and then comes West Point, which seems to be a place of some importance, is more nicely built than many Railroad towns, and is dryer than any place we have passed since leaving Lauderdale Springs.—

All soldiers are temporarily detained here, though the trains run to the third and fourth station above here, I reported to Maj. Durr, of the 39th Miss. Reg't, who is in command of the "First Regiment of Consolidated Veterans". It is made up of odds and ends. I find one of my Reg't here, William Youngblood, of Co. "G." We have formed a "Mess" composed as follows:—M. P. Harbison, 4th La. Bat. (my bed-fellow), C. C. Champion. —th Reg't—. Dick Champion, Wm. McLeod and F. J. Carlisle Co. "H" 57th Ala. Reg't. — Hinton, 39th Miss. Reg't. Youngblood and myself—

It is uncertain when we can go to our respective commands. It seems to be pretty well understood that the remnant of Hood's army is at Corinth, Miss. and Maj. Durr thinks we can go on in less than a week. It is said to be about one hundred miles to Corinth and about twenty miles of the track has been destroyed. I trust it may soon be repaired.

Tonight I am among strangers. One year ago I attempted a review of the principal events of the year just closed. This

also has been a disastrous one for the Confederacy. In May began the terrible struggle, that culminated in the fall of Atlanta. The "Army of Tennessee," is almost among the "things that were."

The campaign inaugurated by Gen. Hood in September, has proven the most disastrous of any we have yet sustained. In addition to the loss of an army and its equipments, a way was opened for Gen. Sherman to march through the entire state of Georgia, which he promptly did, leaving a broad trail of desolation behind him. Savannah is fallen, Charleston may soon follow. Mobile's outer defenses are taken, and a vigorous assault will carry the city. In Virginia much blood has been shed without any great advantage to either side. Richmond and Petersburg are both besieged.

It may be that God designs our overthrow as a separate government. If so, may He prepare us for the ordeal that awaits us as a conquered people. There is too much iniquity in the land, in high and low places too, for us to expect any interposition of Providence in our behalf. May He teach us our duty!

January 3d (Tuesday): We are at the same place yet, though there is some talk of our removal to a more suitable camping ground. Last night we had a blessed season in prayer-meeting. Bro. Hutson of the 39th Miss. Reg't. who is a Methodist preacher, read a portion of Mat. VII, and commented thereupon.

One and half miles North of Columbus, Miss. Jan, 4th (Wednesday)

Yesterday we were notified that we would move to another camping place at 8 o'clock this morning. At night bro. Hutson preached from Heb. XIII: 5. "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee." * * * *

Ere the service was concluded, it was understood that we would move at once, and about 9 o'clock P.M. we started to the depot. By the time we got there, the order was countermanded, and after some delay we returned to our Camp.

At 8 o'clock this morning we started to our new camp and had nearly reached it, when we received orders to proceed to this place at once, as a Federal raid was moving this way from North Alabama. We boarded the train at 9 o'clock A.M. and proceeded to Artesia, were switched off on the Columbus Road. By one o'clock P.M. we reached the splendid little City of Columbus, and immediately came out to this Camp. It is now said there is no raid coming this way at all.

From the brief view I had of the place, I should say that Columbus is the most wealthy and aristocratic looking town I

have seen. It stands the on the East bank of the Tombigbee River, and is the County site of Loundes I, think the most populous and wealthy county in the State.

Jan. 7th (Saturday) No event of special importance has transpired since I wrote here last. We are at the same place, and so far as I can see, we are likely to remain here for several days to come. It is rumored that Stewart's Corps will come to this place, and go into quarters. I trust it may be so. The past two days have been cold, wet, and disagreeable.

We have had no religious service in Camp since leaving West Point, as bro. Hutson went home from that place on furlough.

Jan. 8th. (Sunday Night)—I will write a little ere I go to sleep, for I may not have an opportunity of writing again soon. We have orders to march at 6 o'clock tomorrow morning. Our destination is said to be Tupelo, where, we are informed a portion of the Army of Tennessee is at this time, though it is still said that Stewart's Corps will come to this place. I do not know whether we will go by railroad or "take it afoot". I am anxious to meet my command and yet I dread to learn all that may be in store for me.

I attended religious service in town today, at the Methodist Episcopal Church (.S.). Col. Fountain E. Pitts, of the 81st Tenn. Reg't., was the preacher. It was deeply interesting and impressive discourse founded on the words, "But one thing is needful; and Mary hath chosen that good part that shall not be taken from her." The subject was very well handled, and this together with the imposing appearance of the venerable old man, tall straight, and wearing a Col.'s uniform, made an impression that will not soon wear off.

One and a half miles S.W. of West Point Jan. 12th (Thursday):

We have just arrived at this place, and I will employ a leisure hour in jotting down notes of a few events that make up the history of my campaign.

When I wrote here last, we were under orders to march next morning. When the hour for starting came it was raining in torrents. After every thing was packed, ready to move, the orders to march were "countermanded until further orders". The rain was incessant and though Mr. Harbison and I had one of my blankets stretched it was an inefficient protection, and we became thoroughly wet. Until daylight Tuesday, the rain continued at which time the wind suddenly veered round to the North, and by night it was again very cold.

That night I again attended preaching at the Methodist

Church. Dr. J. B. McFerrin was the preacher. I have seldom heard a more powerful sermon in my life. It was founded on Mat. XXV: 21.—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will make thee ruler over many things."

Next morning, Wednesday 11th, we had orders to move at once. We accordingly repaired to the depot, where a train was made up, and into which we were crowded regardless of comfort.—After running about three miles, it was found that the engine was too weak to pull so heavy a train. So four cars were cut off, and all who no seats were ordered off the other boxes.—I was among the number thus left. We built fires and waited for the engine to return. It came in about two hours and soon hauled us the rest of the way.

Our part of the train arrived at Artesia about 1 o'clock P.M. and finding the rest of the command already in line, we marched right away. It had been ascertained that no transportation could be had for some hours,—that no rations were accessible, and no fuel was convenient. Therefore Lt. Col. Weir of the 37th Miss. Reg't., commanding the Brigade, resolved to march to West Point. Accordingly we started on the railroad, and after marching about seven and one half miles, bivouacked for the night not far from Tibbee Station. Moving at an early hour this morning we arrived here about 11 o'clock A.M.—It is said that a train will be in readiness to haul us further this afternoon or tomorrow morning.

We are now "reliably" informed that Stewarts Corps will go into quarters at Tupelo, and it is said that Sears' Brigade draws rations for Six hundred men. If this report be true, I shall expect to meet many of my comrades again.

It is enough to discourage the stoutest and most hopeful spirits, to listen to the conversation of the men who participated in the recent campaign in Tennessee. They are utterly despondent, and would hail with joy, the prospect of peace on any terms. It is well known that Georgia is taking the initiatory steps looking to *Submissions,*—at least the matter is being discussed in primary meetings held for that purpose, and I know that her course is approved and even applauded in the army,—It seems to be a fact, shameful though it be, that three-fourths of the army of Tennessee, and perhaps as great a proportion of the Citizens of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, are in favor of peace on any terms, no matter how ignominious they may be.

It is hard to feel reconciled to such a state of things. When I reflect on all the woes and misery our people have endured

already, on the thousands of slain and maimed heroes who have already poured out their blood as water, on the vast army of brave spirits who are dying in Northern prisons, and on the sacrifices *we* have made, and the hardships we have undergone, I feel a wild spirit of resentment that bids me resist as long as *one* Southern soldier is left.

But this is not the voice of Wisdom. Helpless gray hairs, frail women and innocent children are in the land. They cannot find rest in a soldier's gory grave. We owe to them a duty, for strong arms, broad backs and stern discipline will be needed when the end comes, even as they are needed now.

It is an unpleasant thought, but one that often suggests itself, that when the contest is ended in our defeat, hundreds—nay thousands—of the Northern soldiers will find homes in the South and make wives of our sisters and our daughters. They have fought us bravely as only brave men can, but their hands are red with Southern blood, and it seems that no true Southern maid would ever desire to wed one who had helped to subdue her people. But I know that where one would remain true to principle, and be faithful to a memory, many will be ready to forget it all, and place her affections in the keeping of a stranger, though his hands be reeking with a brother's or a lover's blood.

But turning from this maddening theme, and beholding the ragged, frozen, half-starved survivors of the terrible campaign just ended, reflecting on what they have suffered, and the less than nothing gained, I ask myself, Is there a way to stop this wholesale slaughter? I can blame no one, be he soldier or civilian, for desiring *peace*. More ardently than for anything else do I desire peace for our terribly scourged land. Yet, as a people, we have not humbled ourselves under the hand of God that His chastening may be stayed. Perhaps others are better prepared than I, since they are ready *now* for submission to the demands of our foes.

And while I am dealing in generalities, I will again refer to the soldiers recently enlisted from among the Federal prisoners. I don't think there is a native born American among them. There is a small battalion—(about one hundred and fifty men,)—attached to this brigade. They belong to the criminal class, and more than twenty instances are reported in the past few days in which both whites and negroes have been robbed, and in many cases personally assaulted. They are scattered all over the country through which we have passed; and are said to be committing all sorts of depredations. Some of them are not fit to be called *men*. Many have already deserted to the enemy,

and others say they will do the same at the first opportunity. It was an unwise step to enlist them, and if they still wore the Federal uniform they would be less harmful to us. It is said some of them fought bravely at Egypt a few weeks ago, before they were captured by Col. Grierson,—Perhaps so,—they do well to dread capture—but I would rather they were safely locked in Andersonville prison than here.

One other man named Chambers, of Co. "G" has been added to our mess.—

One mile West of Verona, Miss. January 16th (Monday): Once more I am with Company "B" 46th Miss. Reg't. I feel grateful to God that he so mercifully shielded my regiment, and especially my company. Of the latter none were killed. Lts. Duckworth and Collins were both captured at Nashville on the 16th of December, and some four or five others were wounded at Franklin, among whom was W. C. Robertson. None of the wounds were serious.

But I will begin at the beginning. About dark on the evening of the 12th, we were informed that we would move at sunrise next morning, and that we would march all the way to Tupelo, distant about forty-five miles. The men were indignant at the idea of making this march, especially as it was understood that Col. Weir had an order for the transportation of nine hundred men. But indignation on the part of a common soldier generally cuts a small figure in the execution of an order.

Accordingly we started about 8 o'clock next morning. Before we had gone three miles perhaps one half the men had "played out". They had simply *stopped* to wait for a train. That day I marched with the Regiment. We passed Lahatan about noon. There is no town here, just a small station house and one or two shabby buildings in the midst of a vast cornfield which extends some twenty miles along the road. We bivouacked for the night just below Prairie, the next station above Lahatan. As soon as dark came on I bade farewell to the "First Reg't of Consolidated Veterans," and "flanking" headquarters, I traveled two or three miles up the railroad, when I came to a long line of rail pens, filled with government corn. I crawled up into one of these pens and went to sleep, and awoke two hours before day nearly frozen. Starting before daylight, I soon passed the spot, where the "Consolidated Veterans" had fought Grierson's raid some weeks before. By sunrise I was at Egypt. There is no town at this place, nor at Prairie. At Egypt, however, Col. Burke's Regiment of Federal recruits and Maj. Phelps Battalion of Reserves had been captured by Grierson's raiders.

Traces of the struggle were visible on the trees and fences, as well as in the carcasses of several horses. The depot had been burned, and near where it stood was one hundred Austrian Rifles, broken at the breach.

I reached Okolona about 11 o'clock A. M. This was a town of some importance, before it was burned by the recent raiding party. One Church house, is I think, the only public building left standing. The next Station is Shannon, a nice little town, but it had shared the same fate as Okolona.

I had already learned that Stewart's Corps was at Verona, the next Station above Shannon. Before reaching the Station, I came to the encampment, and before dark had found my command. I did not see Verona at all.

I find my regiment,—the whole army in fact,—in a deplorable condition. Twenty besides myself of Co. "B" are here, but there is not a gun in the company. The regiment numbers about one hundred and fifty men, about half of whom are barefoot. All are ragged, dirty, and covered with vermin, some not having sufficient clothing to hide their bodies. There are perhaps twenty guns, but not a single cartridge box in the regiment. The men are jovial enough in regard to their condition, and their environments; but when it comes to discussing the prosecution of the war, they are entirely despondent, being fully convinced that the Confederacy is *gone*.

Capt. Heslip is in command of the regiment. Maj. Nelson of the 4th Reg't, commands the Brigade, which is attached to Walthall's Division. I do not think there is a stand of colors in the Brigade.

Nearly all my friends and acquaintances are safe, though some are absent who have probably gone home. Among them is Robertson. Yesterday we had Brigade inspection at 11 o'clock A. M. and preaching in the afternoon. Prayer meeting at night.

Immediately on my arrival in camp, I was ordered on duty as Orderly Sergeant. I see no way to get out of it, so I suppose I must accept the office. It is understood, however, that I am not expected to carry a gun or go on fatigue duty or anything of that sort, till my wound is more completely cured.

It is said we will move down the road tomorrow, though I do not think orders to that effect have been received.

January 17th, (Tuesday) 1865: As I am doing nothing today, I will say a little more about my recent messmate, M. P. Harbison. He is an agreeable companion, the greatest charm in his conversation, being his powers of description. He is a native of Delaware, but has traveled over several states. He was an

eye-witness of the terrible powder explosion in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1855 or '6 in which seventy-five persons were instantly killed and a large number of others wounded. His description of the scene was vivid in the extreme.

Among the places of historic renown he had visited, was the field on which the battle of Brandywine was fought during the Revolutionary War. A house is still standing which has a hole through the wall, made by a British Cannon-ball.

I was much interested in his relation of incidents connected with Bayard Taylor. He claims to be a friend, a schoolmate and a pupil of the great "Itinerant Author." One incident he related of Mr. Taylor I have never seen in print.

While traveling in Mexico, Mr. Taylor was captured by a band of Mexican robbers, who stripped him of everything he possessed, even to his hat and boots. His saddle and bridle were taken, and then as a refinement of torture, his feet were tied together, and his hands crossed behind him and firmly bound. A rope was then tied around his body, and the other end made fast to his horse's hind foot, the animal being left free to go where he would. In this condition he was left about nightfall.

As the horse grazed around him he would roll himself along the ground to prevent the pressure on the rope from becoming too great. About 2 o'clock A. M. *the horse lay down, and remained in that position until daylight.* By dint of incessant and almost superhuman exertion, he succeeded in drawing his feet through his hands, thus getting the latter in front once more. It was like a new lease of life, and "chewed knots" to some purpose till his hands were free. This accomplished, it was but a short time till the rest of the thongs were removed. Mounting his horse at daylight, he succeeded in reaching the settlement without further mishap.

Mr. Taylor's first travels were undertaken under the auspices of Mr. Greely of the *New York Tribune.*

He was the third son of parents in fair circumstances, but educating all the children exhausted the family resources. Four brothers are men of local note, and are highly esteemed by their neighbors.

January 18th (Wednesday): There is some excitement in camp growing out of orders received in regard to furloughs. I am afraid it will be a difficult matter to procure one, though a liberal system has been promised. Many applications have been forwarded, and I have done little else since my last entry here than to write applications. We had prayer meeting last night.

I am quite unwell today. I fainted last night, and when I regained consciousness, I was almost frost bitten.

January 19th (Thursday): Companies "B" and "H" were consolidated today, and are commanded by Capt. Buchanan, Co. "H" has one commissioned officer, Lt. Rufus White. Three other companies were formed of the remaining eight. So the Regiment has four companies, and is commanded by Capt. J. B. Hart of Co. "E." (Lt. Col. Magee was wounded at Franklin, Tenn. and there is no other field officer. Hart is Sen. Capt.)

There are rumors to the effect that our regiment will shortly be detached.

January 21st (Saturday): Rained incessantly last night and today. Fuel is scarce here, but the situation might be much worse than it is.

A portion of the army is moving from this place. Lee's Corps is gone,—to South Carolina; we are told. Cheatham's (Hardee's) is to follow. Ours, it is said, is ordered to Meridian.

January 22d, (Sunday): Still cloudy and bitterly cold.—I am very unwell. We had the usual Sunday inspection in the forenoon, and preaching at 3 o'clock P. M. by a Mr. Andrews, Missionary Chaplain of our Division. He is a Methodist.

January 25th (Wednesday): The weather is very cold indeed, a light fall of snow occurring Sunday night, which is still lying on the ground. Yesterday we were moved to the east of the railroad about one-and-a-half miles. We are in a pretty location now for a camp. Last night, however, about dark orders came for us to march at 8 o'clock A. M. tomorrow. We will march to West Point, it is said, where transportation will be furnished. Meridian is understood to be our destination. Gen. Richard Taylor is now in command of what is left of the Army of Tennessee.—Gen. Hood being in Richmond so the story goes.—I guess Gen. Taylor is a Department Commander.

Several furloughs have been granted to members of the Regiment. S. M. Howell, of Co. "B" left yesterday on furlough, and bro. Lattimore left this morning. Furloughs of ten days are granted to entire companies and Regiments; but the homes of our company are so remote from the railroad that we have not applied for such leave of absence. If we stop at Meridian it is the intention to apply for a more extended leave for the whole company. I have been reading some in Dr. Gill's "Words and Works of God."

Near West Point, Jan. 30th, (Monday): Since my last entry, the weather has continued very cold, the snow of last Sunday night, not having entirely disappeared until today.

When I wrote here last we were under orders to move at 8 o'clock next morning. When the hour arrived the orders were countermanded. At dark Thursday orders came to move at Sunrise Friday morning. The column was put in motion about 7 o'clock A. M. on the 27th,—Loring's Division marching in front, and Walthall's bringing up the rear. We marched on the railroad, which was not pleasant walking. We traveled about sixteen miles that day, and halted for the night some three miles South of Okolona. Moving at 7 o'clock next morning we marched about the same distance as on the day previous and bivouacked about midway between Prairie and Lahatan. Starting yesterday morning at 6:30 o'clock, we arrived here about noon after a tramp of some twelve miles.

This march was rather severe on my "delicate feet," and I was compelled to make part of the trip without my shoes. After leaving the Railroad track, the sharp fragments of ice, and the rough frozen ground made my progress exceedingly painful. Yet it ill becomes me to complain at this, for I have seen others march barefoot day after day, while the print of nearly every step was stained with blood. In the expressive, if not elegant phrasiology of the camp, I am "going on three legs" today.

Our Brigade is quite small now. All of two regiments,—the 39th and 35th are furloughed,—and many members of the remaining regiments are absent with leave, among them being companies, "A," "D" "F" and "K" of the 46th. So many of the officers are away that Capt. Buchanan is in command of the Regiment. No other arrangement would suit him but for me to serve as Adjutant; and as we have no Serg't. Major, I am quite busy. There about fifteen of the company here now. Lt. McLaurin starting home on furlough last night.

January 31st, (Tuesday): Quite warm and pleasant today, though as I am unable to walk I lose much enjoyment of the fine weather. I suppose we will move on as soon as transportation can be secured.

Five Miles South of Mobile, Ala. Feb. 8th (Wednesday): On the night of Wednesday Feb. 1st, Bro. Andrews preached. At the close of the service we received orders to move at 3 o'clock next morning. In compliance with said order we were at the depot on time; but as the transportation facilities were inadequate a portion of us did not leave until about 11 o'clock A. M. The box in which I rode was old and dilapidated, and as a cold rain was falling, we all got wet and suffered some with cold. We had been ordered to Marion, Miss. so the officers said, but

when we arrived at that place, we made no stop at all. We lay over at Meridian till about 5 o'clock P. M. Friday, 3d, not leaving the cars, however.

When it became apparent that we would not stop at Meridian, the conclusion was reached at once, that we would be rushed to South Carolina right away.

I felt indeed sorry for my ragged comrades, who while I was at home, had undergone so much of peril and hardship, and who were now likely to be dragged away from nearly in sight of home, and sent hundreds of miles in the opposite direction. Several men left the regiment though all of company "B" remain at their posts. At Meridian, on the 3d, an effort was made to have the rest of our Brigade granted furloughs, Gen. Taylor told us in person, that he could not furlough us then, but pledged his word that as soon as those now absent returned, we should be permitted to go home. He also stated in most unequivocal terms that French's Division had been detached from the rest of the Corps, and would certainly remain at Mobile.

These assurances somewhat pacified the men, but did not by any means wholly satisfy them, in fact, the most devoted of us are inclined to question the "why's and wherefore's" of many things just now.

Leaving Meridian at 5 o'clock P. M. we arrived at Mobile at noon on Saturday 4th. As it was still raining, Capt. Benoit, A.A.A.G. of Sears' Brigade, secured an old ware house where we were sheltered till 10 o'clock A. M. Sunday 5th. We also were fortunate enough to secure some old tents that had once belonged to Reynold's Brigade. They are the first tents we have had since the fall of Vicksburg.

Before leaving the warehouse Sunday morning bro. Andrews preached. During the service we were ordered to move to this encampment. It was still raining when we arrived here, and by the time the wagons came with our tents we were thoroughly wet. Yesterday was a fair day, and we erected chimneys to our tents, so we are quite comfortable indeed. We have a pretty location though it is rather small. It is a mile or so from the shore of the Bay, and from a point near our camp we have a pretty fair view of the Federal fleet.

I am still acting as Adjutant. None of the furloughed men from our Regiment have returned. It is time they were here.

Feb. 10th (Friday): Some of the furloughed men are coming in, among them company "F" to this regiment.

Feb. 12th (Sunday): We have been inspected twice today.

Last night I was up writing till a late hour, preparing applications for furloughs for companies "B" and "H" all of the furloughed companies are again represented in camp. though none of Co. "K" are here except the Orderly Sergeant J. H. McDonald. Applications for the rest of us have been forwarded.

We are doing picket duty on the beach now, in sight of the Federal fleet. Lt. R. N. Rea, of Co. "F" is now acting Adjutant. Capt. Barwick of Co. "D" will assume command of the regiment tomorrow, and Col. Barry of the 35th Regt will assume command of the Brigade, at the same time. Some cannonading today.

Feb. 17th (Friday): I have the "blues" this morning. I am depressed in spirit when I contemplate the condition of our Country. A spirit of submission is rife throughout the land. Union meetings are being held, even in Mississippi, and submission is openly advocated, and the further prosecution of the war is bitterly denounced. Some of us did hope for peace, but the Federal government will entertain no proposition but unconditional surrender, and so we must nerve our arms for another campaign. It seems a useless waste of blood. We have no armies to fight our victorious foes. Tens of thousands of Confederates are at home.

There is a cry to put the negroes in the army, and I understand that our congress is considering the subject. There will be a Brigade meeting today, and a Division meeting tomorrow, to adopt resolutions expressing the sentiments of this command in regard to the prosecution of the war. These resolutions are to be *for show* I suppose. The time for *"big talk"* has passed. Disguise the fact as we may, the *real sentiment* of this Brigade and this Division, is for peace on almost any terms. The proper course, I think, is not to ignore this fact, but to face it at once, and set about rectifying the evil in a legitimate manner. If this be the aim of the proposed meetings I can bid them "God Speed."

Evening.—I attended the Brigade meeting today. We had speeches from Rev. Andrews, Capt. Harris, of the 7th Bat. and Col. Barry and Capt. Brack of the 35th Regt. Col. Barry's argument. "There is hope in fighting,—in submission none," seems to have been the key note of the situation. The resolutions were good, breathing unflagging zeal in our effort to be free. The proposition to arm the negroes was discussed pro and con, and two votes were taken there upon but the matter was left undecided. I do not consider the measure expedient, but I am opposed to it on higher ground than expediency—*it is not right.*

Our furloughs still hang fire, W. R. Gibbons started home on furlough last night.

Capt. Durham of Co. "K" is in our mess now. Four of his company are here. Many others are coming in. We have preaching nearly every night now.

Feby 19th. (Sunday)—A gloomy day of clouds, wind and thunder. I did not attend the Division meeting yesterday. I understand several ladies were present, and that everything passed off very nicely. Speeches were made by Col. Barry, Col. Coleman of Ector's Brigade, and by Gen. Cockrell, besides these Hon Percy Walker and Judge W. G. Jones from the City also made speeches. I have not seen the proceedings yet. I understand some *bloody* resolutions were passed. It was resolved that the best interests of the country demanded that the negroes be placed in the field as soldiers. It was also resolved that this command places unlimited confidence in the wisdom, sagacity and purity of Mr. Davis, as a Statesman and General, and that his course merits our unreserved commendation. (It had been best to have omitted some items in the last resolution).

I understand that Congress has at last made Gen. R. E. Lee Commander-in-chief of all the Confederate Armies. Another measure of Congress is recalling Gen. J. E. Johnston to the command of his old Army. It is thought these two measures will do much to restore public confidence. I do not know what is best. I am simply resolved to do my whole duty, as nearly as I can and leave the result with God.

Feb. 27th. (Monday.): Robertson came into Camp a week ago. He had been at home for some time, and brought me letters when he came. He and I have a tent to ourselves. Bro. Lattimore is messing with us, but has a tent of his own to sleep and study in. When the rain does not interfere we have preaching every night and frequently during the day. A missionary named McMurtry is here. He, Andrews, and the three regular Chaplains, Foster, 35th, Gordon, 36th and Lattimore 46th, with Hutson of the 39th, frequently alternate in conducting the services, much interest is manifested, and the baptismal waters are often stirred. Four of Co. "B" started home on furlough yesterday.

Feb. 28th (Tuesday): I have made out a complete set of Muster and Pay rolls, today, and we were paid two months wages this afternoon. Rained last night.

March 3d (Friday): We are under orders to move at a moments notice. Two or three transports of the enemy entered the Bay last night, through Grant's Pass. It seems to be certain

that the Federals are moving out from Pensacola, and I suppose that our authorities anticipate active campaigning, as all furloughs have been revoked, and the men are ordered to return to their respective commands. From certain indications, I think this city will be evacuated if a heavy force moves against. Our prospects are growing more gloomy every day. On every side, we are losing ground. I very much doubt whether the *morale* of this army or of the citizens of the land is equal to the emergency that confronts us. All of us are weary of this ceaseless turmoil and bloodshed—we long so much for peace. May God teach us patience and resignation, and may the rod of affliction soon be stayed.

Yesterday Robertson and I went to the city. We encountered nothing worthy of note. We found very small stocks of goods in any of the houses, though what was there was held at exorbitant prices. We paid five dollars for a dinner of baker's bread and butter.

On our return, the Bay presented a beautiful appearance. The wind had been blowing all day and the surface of the water lashed into foam. White-capped waves chased each other and were dashed into boiling foam on the shore. The Federal fleet was target shooting, we supposed, as we could plainly see the puffs of smoke rising out the water apparently to be followed by a heavy "boom."

March 4th. (Saturday)—I am somewhat unwell as I had a chill and fever today. The excitement in regard to moving seems to have subsided. Cool today with strong North wind. I have read some in "Baxter's Saints' Rest."

March 6th (Monday.)—I am indisposed again today. Yesterday bro. Lattimore, Robertson and I went across the river to a small Baptist church I had visited in Feby. 1864. Bro. Lattimore preached to a congregation made up almost entirely of soldiers from our Brigade, and the women living near the place. His discourse was an interesting one and was listened to with marked attention.

On our return we passed the spot where our Brigade was encamped a year ago. Not a vestige of our cabins remains. At 3 o'clock P.M. bro. Andrews preached and bro. Lattimore preached at night. After the sermon last night, my messmate Robertson professed conversion and offered himself as a candidate for baptism. Bro. Lattimore baptized him at 10 o'clock a.m. today. I was too unwell to witness the administration of the ordinance.

I am taking medicine prescribed by Dr. Catchings, of the 39th Miss. The troops are in the ditches this afternoon.

March 7th (Tuesday)—I am feeling much better today. This morning, I witnessed the administration of the ordinance of baptism. Bro. Lattimore baptized two from our Brigade. Capt. Ziegel, commanding 10th Texas Reg't; Ector's Brigade, who is a Baptist preacher baptized three from that Brigade and bro. Andrews baptized four. Two of these were from Ector's Brigade and the other two were members of Co. "F" our Regiment. Both the latter were named Denton, and one was baptized as a Methodist and the other a Presbyterian.

There is a General Review in the city this afternoon and all the command is gone, except a "few sick folks" like myself.

I think the apprehensions of an immediate attack upon this place are subsiding. But if rumors can be depended on, some movements will doubtless soon be made that will affect the destiny of the Gulf City. We understand that a large Federal force under command of Gen. Thomas is at New Orleans, and that it will be landed at Pensacola, and probably move upon Selma. A movement of this nature would insure the fall of Mobile, if successful and would entail less loss of life than a direct assault upon the works here. For this place is strongly fortified and its armament is formidable. With a force sufficient to man the works, it would prove well nigh impregnable so far as direct assault is concerned.

March 8th (Wednesday)—We had a heavy rain accompanied by a great deal of wind and thunder last night. Today, however, is spring like.

The command will be equipped today. We were armed with Austrian Rifles immediately after we came to this place, but there has not been a cartridge box in the Brigade since I joined at Verona. It seems hardly credible, yet it is true, that all the picketing we have done here, though in sight of the enemy, has been done with "empty guns".

I understand from the newspapers that the exchange of prisoners has been resumed. I trust it may be true, for there are doubtless many sufferers in the prisons of both North and South.

March 11th (Saturday)—Yesterday was "fast day" by proclamation of the President. It was observed throughout this Division in so far as all business was suspended, but I suppose it was literally observed by but few, even of the professors of religion. We had prayer-meeting in the Brigade at 10 o'clock A.M. Bro. Foster conducted the exercises. At 3 o'clock P.M.

Dr. Hamilton of Mobile preached a powerful sermon in our Brigade from the Scripture—"Likewise I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." Luke XVI: 10. Bro. Lattimore preached at night.

A cold North wind prevailed yesterday, and there was a white frost this morning.

March 13th (Monday)—On Saturday afternoon, two of the Federal ironclads took position in range of the lower batteries, and for about two hours a vigorous bombardment was kept up. I think, however, no damage was done. The fleet had been augmented to about fifteen vessels, but yesterday morning only nine were in sight.

We had preaching Saturday night, and three sermons yesterday, besides the Bible Class, which met at 2 o'clock P.M.

The enemy are bombarding Spanish Fort today. I know nothing of its importance as a means of defense. It is on the Eastern shore of the Bay, some miles below the City.—If it falls, I suppose a landing can be affected on that side, and the river can be more easily controlled, leaving only the M. & O. Railroad as a source of supplies.

March 15th. (Wednesday)—Yesterday was a day of incessant rain. In fact, I do not remember seeing so much rain fall in some length as has fallen since we came here.

Bro. Lattimore has tendered his resignation as Chaplain of our regiment. This action is based on his appointment as a Missionary to the Batteries in the Confederate armies. Bro. Gordon of the 36th has already resigned, and the resignation of Bro. Foster of the 35th has also been forwarded to the Department. This will leave the Brigade without a regular Chaplain.

March 19th (Sunday)—Day before yesterday Capt. Buchanan started home on a detail of twenty-five days for the purpose of securing recruits for the company. About a year ago he started home for Pollard on a similar errand. Our consolidated Company is now commanded by Lt. Rufus White of Co. "H"

In compliance with orders from Regimental head quarters I have been engaged for the past few days, in writing a history of Company "B" from its organization to the present time. It is not completed yet.

March 21st—(Tuesday)—I expected to have gone to the City yesterday; but no "passes" were granted. About 10 o'clock a.m. an order was received to keep all the men in camp and be ready to move at any time. At 3 o'clock P.M an additional order came, requiring us to cook three days rations *at once* and be

ready to move at a moments notice. It was reported[1] were landing in force at Cedar Point; some thirty miles below here, and Gibson's Louisina Brigade was sent in that direction yesterday afternoon. Later reports say it is only a cavalry force that is debarking at Cedar Point. They may attempt to reach the Railroad at some point north of here,—Heavy raining all night and today.

There was more cannonading on Bay yesterday which was probably directed against Spanish Fort.

March 24th (Friday)—The Brigade that was sent in the direction of Cedar Point returned Tuesday afternoon and everything appeared quiet again. It transpires, however, that the bombardment of Monday resulted in driving our forces from "Fort Montrose," on the Eastern Shore, and its subsequent occupation by the Federals. They are reported to be moving on Spanish Fort from that place.—On Wednesday drilling was resumed. On the same day I received from Demopolis, the missing portion of this Journal,—or most of it at least,—some twenty-five pages being lost.

Yesterday Robertson and I again visited the City. We spent a portion of the time in ascertaining the location of the different churches. We went into one Catholic church, and witnessed a part of a funeral service. While in the city, Gibson's Brigade marched through, on its way to the wharf where it went on board a steamer, bound for the Eastern shore. With it I met my "consolidated" bed-fellow, M. P. Harbison, I was glad to meet him.

On our return to camp, we found the men again cooking three day's rations. I don't know whether we will move this time or not.

One Mile South of Blakely, Ala, March 25th (Saturday)—We left the camp about 4 o'clock P.M. yesterday and proceeded to the City. Embarking on the "Magnolia" at about 8 o'clock P.M. we were landed at Blakely about midnight. We are now in the bivouac and may remain here all day. Blakely is a pretty village, resembling Pollard in being surrounded by pine woods.

As we neared the landing at Blakely, a soldier of Cockrell's Brigade, while in a state of intoxication, fell overboard and was drowned. * * * *

An hour or two later two boats collided on the river and one of them was instantly sunk. It was laden with Q.M. and Com-

[1] that the enemy

missary stores, principally for our Brigade. It is said several lives were also lost. The collision was the result of sheer carelessness it would seem, for it was a beautiful starlit night and the boats could easily be seen for several hundred yards. We left the sick in Camp, with Bro. Lattimore in charge of the regimental quarters.

Claiborne, Ala. April, 10th (Monday)—While awaiting a boat to go to Mobile, I will begin an entry, not knowing when I can finish it.

On Saturday 25th, we remained in Bivouac until 3 o'clock P. M. when we marched about eight miles south, and staid all night. In going down we crossed a body of water called Bay Minette, and were not far, I think, from Spanish Fort. Next morning we returned in the direction of Blakely, but leaving it to our left, we bivouacked for the night near Sibley's Mill.

On Monday 27th, we returned to Blakely and took position in the trenches. Our Brigade was on the extreme left, our regiment being, I think, about a mile and a half from the village. Meanwhile the enemy had invested Spanish Fort, which in addition to its artillery forces, was manned by Gibson's La. Brigade, and a Brigade of Ala. State Reserves.

On Tuesday 28th, Ector's Brigade was detached and sent to the beleaguered Fort. In the meantime, we were busily engaged in strengthening our position. We had only Cockrell's, Sears' and Holtzclaw's Brigades to man the works at Blakely. Gen. Cockrell commanding the Division, and Gen. Maury Commander-in-chief.

On Wednesday 29th, our Regiment about one hundred strong, and commanded by Capt. J. B. Hart, of Co. "E" was sent out about four miles on the Stockton road to do picket duty. Nothing of special interest occurred till Saturday, April 1st. The siege of Spanish Fort was not intermitted, and we knew the enemy were advancing upon us from above. About noon he made his appearance in our front. A well directed fire emptied several saddles, and effectually checked his advance for the time.

Gen. Cockrell directed Capt. Hart to fall back if pressed, but the latter protested that he was able to hold the enemy in check for an indefinite period. He seemed to take no account of the open country and his unprotected flanks. After some two hours' waiting, during which an occasional shot was fired we suddenly discovered that the enemy was on our left flank as well as on our front. Forming two sides of a square, we at once began a running fight, loading our guns as we "double-quicked" and then stopping taking a hasty aim and firing. This was kept

up for about two miles. Then, as we neared the head of a mill-pond, the enemy (cavalry), made a charge having gained the road in our front. In a moment they were all among us crying out, "Surrender!" "Halt, you d—d rebels!" and such expressions.

Nearly all the right wing—our left as we retreated—dashed away from them and ran through the undergrowth toward the mill pond. Volley after Volley was fired at us knocking the bark from the saplings all about us, but so far as I could see not a man was touched. When the firing had all ceased, and we heard no one in pursuit we halted. There were four of us together, viz: Serg't. Robert. Leachman of Co. "F" Serg't. Willis Pickering, Robertson and myself of Co. "B." After resting a few minutes, we concluded to "flank" the enemy, and try to reach our lines, at Blakely.

We were already in a gall-berry flat. Following this till we came in sight of the waters of the Bay, we emerged from the thicket to find ourselves about seventy-five yards in rear of a Federal line of battle. Making no effort to dislodge the enemy, or even attract his attention, we crept back into the thicket and returned to our stopping place. We soon learned that several others were near us. We held a council of war, several of the officers and our squad. I showed the impracticability of entering our lines by the direct route, and suggested that we remain where we were till dark, and pass to the enemy's rear.

We collected at dark, forty-seven men all told, nine or ten of whom were officers. Capt. Hart was either killed or captured, we supposed, and so was Capt. Heslip, Lt. Rea was known to have been wounded. Capt. J. A. Barwick of Co. "D" was in command.

Directing our course by the stars we started and traveled due East. We forded streams, crossed swamps and jungles, taking some of them endwise, I think, and were sometimes in water to our hips. I brought up the rear, no word was spoken above a whisper, and a command was passed from man to man as we marched in single file, about five feet apart. Soon after starting we passed in a few yards of the Federals as they took the floor out of a mill house to cover a bridge.

Altogether it was a unique march. The crescent moon was going down behind us, the air was full of fireflies, the ponds and brakes were vocal with the cries of thousands of frogs, and on the low ridges the dogwood trees sheeted in white blossoms, stood like ghostly sentinels in the uncertain light. Once, when a timid deer started up in our path, in obedience to a preconcerted

signal, we all fell as dead men "*till the danger was past.*" It was ludicrous, too, and I often wanted to laugh outright, when some fellow would fall into water to his waist, or measure his length in the mud, especially if he indulged in smothered grunts or imprecations during the performance. There was no lagging and no inclination to straggle.

We traveled till about 3 o'clock A. M. Sunday, 2d when we halted in a reed-brake, to rest and reconnoiter.

In the early morning I had a chill. This was followed by a burning fever and delirium, which lasted all day. I can only dimly recall the fact that they all left me in the swamp, late in the afternoon with no one but Robertson who agreed to stay with me. I know I have sorely tried his patience, in my feverish hours, but he has never uttered an impatient word.

Unable to walk, I was partly carried and we traveled about a mile and a half that night. Monday 3d, we started in the late afternoon, but so many swamps were in the way, and I was so weak that we had gone only two or three miles by midnight when we halted again. We started at daylight and walked till noon covering some six or seven miles. At dark we started again, and turned to the North East, in order to reach the Railroad. It must be understood that all this time we had seen no sign of human habitation, had not even crossed a road of any sort. About 1 o'clock A. M. Wednesday 5th we again made a long halt, when we again started on another weary tramp.

Soon after dark we treed and killed an opossum. We had no means of starting a fire, for they took our guns when they left us in the swamp, Sunday, and we had not a pinch of salt, yet we were getting hungry enough to seriously consider the propriety of trying to eat the disgusting marsupial. About midnight we came to a cabin, the first we had seen since leaving Blakely and from a woman and a little boy we learned something of our whereabouts. We were about a mile from Williams Station on the Railroad. We also learned that some Federal soldiers were in camp about a mile from there and that they had been at the very cabin the previous afternoon.

We reached the Railroad near Williams Station, and followed the Eastern end till we crossed Dyer's Creek, when we lay down the woods till morning. Starting soon after daylight we soon found a road, and after following for about six miles came to the house of a man named Bryers. From him we heard of the rest of our regiment who had passed only two days before. Our effort to secure something to eat was an ignoble failure.

One and a half miles further brought us to the old Stage Road.

The Federal army had traveled this road, and had destroyed all the food-stuffs they could find, and had killed all the stock cattle and hogs.—About 1 o'clock P. M. we came to the house of a Mr. McGill and asked for dinner. He was in the army, and the Yankee soldiers had destroyed everything about the place, even breaking the dishes and destroying the bees. His wife however, was a true Southern woman, and declared she was not "near whipped." Out of her poverty she prepared us a meal, that to us was a princely feast, for which she would accept no pay; but we each laid a dollar on the table and came away.

We soon left the route followed by the enemy, and slept on the pizza[1] of an unoccupied house that night. Next day, (Friday 7th) it rained nearly all day and we ate dinner with a man named Lomax, who treated us very kindly. That night we slept in a school house. After traveling about two miles next morning we ate breakfast at Mrs. Parker's, who was very kind to us. We got a haversack of potatoes that day from a Mr. Robertson. Stopped in a church as it was raining, till nearly night, and then left the main road and slept in the woods.

We reached Monroeville about 9 o'clock A. M. Sunday 9th. This is a pretty little town, the site of Monroe County. As we rested on some benches near the hotel, the proprietor, Mrs. Lewis, kindly invited us in, and she and her daughter, Miss Jane, set us a nice breakfast, to which we did ample justice. They informed us that boats ran regularly between Claiborne and Mobile and advised us to come here.

We arrived here about dark yesterday afternoon, after a march of fourteen miles from Monroeville. We had understood that the 15th Confederate Cavalry Reg't. was posted at this place, and hence were not surprised at being halted by some pickets some three miles from town. One of the men at our request escorted us to Lt. Col. Myers, who released us immediately and sent us to his regimental commissary. Capt. Davis bountifully supplied us with rations. We are awaiting a boat to take us to Mobile.

We are told here that Selma is in the hands of the enemy and there are rumors that Richmond has been evacuated. Thus our prospects are growing more gloomy every day. May the Lord help us.

This is quite a pretty town. It is in Monroe County and is on the left bank of the Alabama River, about twenty miles above

[1] Piazza

its junction with the Tombigbee. It appears to have been a *fast place* before the war came on.

Suggville, Ala. April, 12th (Wednesday): We remained in the town of Claiborne all day Monday, awaiting a boat. The time was spent pleasantly enough, yet it seemed at times, like we were idlers. That night we slept in the Presbyterian Church. We had about an inch of candle, and finding a "note-book" convenient we sang a few old pieces of music before going to sleep. The seats were cushioned, and made, for a soldier, a most luxurious bed. We made an important purchase in Claiborne, viz; a plug of Tobacco, for which we paid $10.00.

No boat having appeared by Tuesday morning, we decided to go across to the Tombigbee River, as we were assured that boats were running on that stream all the time. Owing to unavoidable delays, it was 11 o'clock A. M. yesterday when we crossed the Alabama River. Starting on the road to Point Jackson we reached this place about sunset. The intervening road was pleasant walking and several nice residences were passed. At one of these a lady handed us each a glass of milk which was much appreciated.

On our arrival here, a gentleman furnished us with a haversack of potatoes, and we were intending to "camp out" as usual. An old gentleman, Dr. Rivers, learning our intention, insisted that we should spend the night at his house. We did so, and this morning his motherly wife insisted that we stop over today, and have our clothes washed. This is a pleasant family, and I pray that God may reward them for their kindness.

There is great commotion in town this morning. At a late hour last evening news was received that the 15th Confederate Cavalry had left Claiborne yesterday morning, had encountered the enemy a few miles from that place, and had sustained a severe repulse. It is said the enemy are on this side of the Alabama River, and moving on Jackson, I am not at all desirous of being again "cut off" Advices from Mobile, in which direction there has been heavy cannonading all day, is to the effect that Spanish Fort and Blakely both are fallen. It is said they were evacuated, Mobile must necessarily soon follow. The troops will probably come up the river. It is also rumored that Gen. Forest has checked a Federal column near Uniontown that was moving out from Selma.

This village is in Clarke County. There is some wealth about here, and the people seem very kind. As I close this entry, the tones of a piano, are filling the house with music, and a sweet

young woman's voice is singing, "When this Cruel War is Over!"

Twelve Miles West of St. Stephens, Ala. April 14th (Friday): While waiting for some potatoes to roast, I will bring up my record of events. We left Dr. Rivers' at Suggsville about 4 o'clock P. M. on Wednesday 12th, and after traveling five or six miles we camped near the road. As the night was rainy it was not really agreeable sleeping. Before daylight, we were aroused by mounted couriers who informed us that the Yankees were within three miles of Suggsville. Not wishing to get inside the Federal lines again, we resumed our march. We found the citizens every where in great excitement, and a thousand and one rumors were afloat as to the whereabouts of the oncoming raid, all of which were probably untrue.

We arrived at Point Jackson about 11 o'clock A. M. and found the excitement greater than on the road. Scores of wagons loaded with furniture, and with Salt from the Oven Bluff Salt works, were awaiting to be ferried across the river, while the whole landing and adjacent bluffs were thronged with excited people. Several steamboats were in sight on the way to Demopolis, but learning that the remnant of the Mobile garrison were ordered to rendezvous at Meridian we deemed it best to make our way to the M. & O. R. R. Hence we gave a negro a dollar to put us across the river in his skiff. The passage of the steamboats, however, had made the water so rough, that the skiff came near being swamped. Point Jackson is a village on a high bluff on the left bank of the Tombigbee River, and is in Clarke County.

After crossing the River we were in Washington County, Ala. It is ten miles from the river to St. Stephens, yet the road was so level and dry, that we reached the latter place about 4 o'clock P. M. We passed some good farms, and at one farm house, a lady gave us a canteen of milk. As we proceeded the country became more broken and sterile.

St. Stephens is the County site of Washington County. I must say I was sadly disappointed in the place. It is one of the oldest towns in the State, at one time was the State Capital, and is till yet the site of a Government Land Office, yet I found only a small, dilapidated village about as large and about as pretentious as Williamsburg, Miss. There must be an older town somewhere. We had expected to draw rations here but couldn't find any to draw.

We stopped for the night with a soldier named Dykes, two miles West of town. He was a very poor man, who had been

in the army about Mobile, and had stopped over with his family while being conveyed up the river to Demopolis. He bountifully fed us on substantial fare for which he would accept no remuneration. We found the wildest excitement among all classes and rumors were rife as ever.

We have traveled about ten miles today through a sterile region having passed only three settlements. At one of these we got some potatoes, and from present indications we stand a good chance to lie out in the rain tonight.

Four and a half miles North of State Line, Miss. April 15th, (Saturday) Starting about 1 o'clock P.M. yesterday we marched nine or ten miles and camped with a family who are moving from Sparta Ala. to Texas. They crossed the River at Claiborne just ahead of us, and we have frequently passed each other since. They proved very agreeable companions. The family consists of Mr. Savers, formerly a Stock Commission merchant of New Orleans, his young wife, her mother, a Mrs. Robertson, and a very beautiful young lady, a cousin of Mrs. Savers, I think, I did not learn her name, they called her "Miss Jennie." An Englishman, a soldier, and about twenty five negroes make up the party.

We started quite early this morning, and reached the Railroad nine miles distant a little before noon. We ate breakfast at a Mr. Williams' not long after starting. The entire distance from the Tombigbee River to the Railroad is sterile pine woods and very sparsely populated. Just before reaching the Railroad a man named Breland let us have some potatoes for which he would accept no pay. Finding that no rations were to be had at State Line, and that it was uncertain when a train would go up the road, we resolved to "walk on." We have come some four and a half miles, have eaten a primitive supper of roasted potatoes and are now seated by a pine knot fire. There is no town at all at State Line. It is about a mile from the Ala. line, and is on the line of Green and Wayne Counties.

So we are in Mississippi again. The people of Alabama have treated us with great kindness during our tramp of two hundred miles in the last fourteen days. In fact, the State has earned the enviable reputation for hospitality to soldiers, and during the last two years has contributed more to feed the army of the West, than any other State in the Confederacy.

Mobile is fallen! The "Gulf City" our last seaport, that for four years has stood proudly defiant, is now in the possession of our enemies. It is a sad story. Neither Spanish Fort or Blakely were evacuated. Both places were carried by assault. It is said

that the latter place was carried by negro troops, that "Fort Pillow" was the battle-cry and that many of the garrison were slaughtered after they had surrendered.[1] For the sake of American civilization I hope the rumor is not true. A feeble gleam of light comes from the East. It is said that Sherman has been beaten in North Carolina. May God have mercy upon us, and as a people direct us.

Shubuta, Miss. April 17th, (Monday)—After an early start yesterday morning, we found a train at Buckatunna Bridge on which we rode two miles to the station of that name, where we remained till about 11 o'clock A. M. Finding nothing to eat, and no hope of getting to ride any further we walked up the track seven miles, to Winchester, arriving there about 1:30 o'clock P. M. As there was no inducement to remain here, we halted only a few minutes, and set out for Waynesboro, five and a half miles distant, where we arrived about 3:30 o'clock P. M. Being tired and both of us somewhat unwell, we stopped at the depot till nearly sunset. We had not tasted food all day, and every application had met with a cold refusal. Thinking we could fare better by leaving the railroad we made inquiry for a wagon road to Shubuta.

We had gone a mile or two, and were passing a comfortable looking residence when an old gentleman hailed us, and coming out to the road inquired where we were going and what command we belonged to. On hearing the no. of the regiment, he turned to another old gentleman saying "Isn't that the regiment that Jim is in?" "I believe so," was the reply, and turning to me he asked, "Do you know anything of Jim Lampley?" "If you mean Lt. James I. Lampley of Co. "A" 46th Miss. Reg't, certainly I know him." I replied. "Come in! Come in, boys!" he cried, "Jim is my son!" and the old man's voice was full of tears.

We were royally treated that night. The family consisted of the father and mother, and two beautiful girls one of whom was grown into a young lady. Two Methodist preachers, S. R.

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[1] In reference to the capture of Fort Pillow, Bassett says: "Negro soldiers when captured were sometimes killed by their captors, but such cases as occurred were due to the feeling of the privates and not by order of the confederate authorities. The most notable case was at the capture of Fort Pillow by Forrest, April 12, 1864; but investigation showed this was without orders of Forrest, who offered to receive the negroes as prisoners of war when he demanded the surrender of the fort. His demand was refused, and as no flag of surrender was raised, his storming party slew its defenders, white and black, who fought desperately, until Forrest himself arrived on the scene and stopped the slaughter." *A Short History of the United States* (1492-1920), p. 574.

Bankston and P. H. Napier, were spending the night there, and these with Mr. L. all came out to the road when they hailed us.

I have omitted to state that we heard of our Reg't. at Claiborne, and at various places since leaving there, Lt. Lampley had spent a night at home a few days before we were there.

Leaving the christian home of Mr. Lampley this morning with a nice lunch in our haversacks, we arrived at Red Bluff about seven miles distant by 10 o'clock A. M. We found Capt. Angus Taylor, (first Capt. of Co. "A") posted there with a small company of State Troops. We came on to this place arriving here about 1 o'clock P. M.

A gentleman gave us a few potatoes immediately on our arrival, and we found the Post Commissary willing to issue rations, though against orders, he says. Once more our haversacks are full, and we are in no hurry to resume our tramp. There is more goods in the stores here than I expected to see. They are piling up hundreds of bales of cotton near the depot, ready for burning, should the enemy attack this place.

News from Virginia is sad indeed. It is nothing less than that the Army of Northern Virginia, has been surrendered to Gen. Grant. If this rumor is true, it seems useless to contend longer with the odds so against us. May God prepare us for what he has in store for us!

Near Meridian, Miss. April 19th (Wednesday): We remained at Shubuta all day yesterday. We drew rations again bought some molasses and potatoes, and a lady gave us some milk, and we fared sumptuously for soldiers. About midnight a train came up from below. We boarded it, and after a free ride of thirty-eight miles we arrived at Meridian at daylight. Starting to the office of the Post commandant, we met Dr. Catchings of the 39th Reg't. who had just arrived, and knew as little as we did. We soon encountered Capt. Zeigel, of Ector's Brigade, who directed us to the camp.

All the officers of the Regiment who escaped capture at Blakely are here. The Brigade numbers about fifty-five enlisted men, and ten or twelve officers. Our Regiment numbers twenty-five. J. R. Powers of Co. "B" and six of Co. "H" including Lt. White are here. We are at present attached to Ector's Brigade. Lt. Col. Shotwell of the 35th has made application to have this remnant of the Brigade mounted. I trust he may succeed.

Conflicting reports reach us from Virginia, but it seems certain that Gen. Lee, surrendered himself and most of the Virginia Army, at Appomattox.

Of a more sensational character, however, are the reports of

the assassination of President Lincoln and Secy. Seward. Should these reports prove true, and they seem well authenticated, I am fearful the war will be prosecuted more barbarously than ever, for I have a poor opinion of the moderation of such a man as Andrew Johnson, who, it is reported, was installed as President on the 15th inst.

It appears that Capt. Hart reached the lines at Blakely, and was captured with the rest of the garrison. There are not enough men for a regiment in our whole division.

April 20th (Thursday): Today Col. Baylor and Mr. Sexton, congressmen from Texas, made speeches in town.

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Five and a half miles East of Meridian, April 22d (Saturday): "On the wing" again. Rained Thursday night. Yesterday we received orders to march at 10 o'clock A. M. today. Before starting this morning I was paid four months wages, which came in good time.

I know nothing of our destination. It is said we will go to Cuba Station, Ala., but I suppose we will go further than that. The whole command is moving. I understand the infantry numbers about five thousand, including a regiment or two of heavy artillery which, since the fall of Mobile, is armed as Infantry. I *think* our destination is the army of Gen. Johnston in North Carolina. It seems like following a "forlorn hope" and it is with extreme reluctance that the men will go. I feel despondent, yet I will try to do my whole duty leaving the issue in the hands of Him, who "doeth all things well."

April 23d (Sunday): We have stopped for the night, and I will write a line or two. We had preaching last night by Bro. Lattimore. The night was so cool that some of us did not sleep well. When the rolls were called this morning it was found that a great many had departed during the night. Some say three hundred men are gone. I know that five men of our Brigade are not accounted for. We were ordered to move at 6 o'clock but it was 9 o'clock before we started. We have marched twelve or fifteen miles and are said to be five or six miles from Cuba Station. We passed a hamlet called "Why Not," about 10 o'clock A. M. All the way from Meridian, the land is generally poor.

One and a half miles North of Cuba Sta. Ala, April 24th, (Monday): We moved at 7 : 30 o'clock this morning, and reached Cuba Station, a distance of six miles, about noon. Passing near the depot, we kept on the Livingston road, and are bivouacked

in the pine woods about a mile and a half from the Station. At the depot we met Lt. Rea, who was wounded at Blakely.

It has been said ever since we started, that we would remain here for some days at least, but our Commissaries were ordered to issue two days rations, and we have orders to move at 8 O'clock A. M. tomorrow. We will go to Livingston I suppose. Several more of the command have deserted. About fifteen of our Brigade are missing. I really doubt whether one thousand men of this whole force will cross the Alabama River. It seems to be a settled fact that the days of the Confederacy are numbered. Hard as it is to say it, *we have failed.* It is painful,—it is humiliating to write the record—after all, we must give it up, and own that *we are whipped!* A thousand reflections are suggested by the facts.

The people of the South are *unworthy* of freedom, as we sought it. Once, it seemed we had the men and means to achieve our independence, but a needless sacrifice of the one and a prodigal waste of the other, exhausted both in a short time. Two hundred thousand of our best men, it is said, have perished, and for *what?* To give the world another proof that man is incapable of self government. Right here in America, we have made the most stupendous failure that has marked the history of our race. With all the light which history has struck from the fallen republics of all the ages to guide us, we reared a splendid fabric of Republicanism, under the most favorable auspices the world has ever seen. In less than a century, we have miserably failed, in theory and in practice. But I have the blues tonight.

April 26th (Wednesday Night): We are still at the same place, and nothing more is said of moving. On the contrary it is said that an armistice of sixty days has been agreed upon, and that we will remain here until its expiration. Evidently "something is up" for furloughs are being given in this command. Four from our regiment started home on furloughs this morning. Several other applications have been forwarded, and if Gen. Taylor approves them, I will endeavor to have Co's. "B" and "H" furloughed in a body.

We were paid six months wages today, and everybody is "flush." I am acting as Orderly Serg't, Adjutant, and Adjutant General of this Brigade which numbers thirty-five men.

There is preaching every night in Ector's Brigade (to which we are attached).

April 29th (Saturday): Nothing of importance has transpired so far as it affects us. It is rumored today that the Federal authorities at Washington have refused to ratify the terms

agreed upon by Gens. Sherman and Johnston, and that hostilities will be resumed again on Monday. It may be a "grape-vine" dispatch.

I am somewhat unwell having suffered with tooth-ache a great deal during the last few days.

May 6th (Saturday): A whole week has passed and nothing of special interest has occurred in our camp. Capt. Ogletree, who has commanded the Brigade since Col. Shotwell left, has gone home, and Capt. Pace, of Co. "A," 46th Miss. Reg't, is now in command.

An event of importance *has* occurred, however, one that is frought with intense interest to us. Yesterday we were officially notified that we had been surrendered as "Prisoners of War." I do not, as yet, know when or where the terms of capitulation were signed. I suppose we will shortly be paroled.

Thus ends the Confederacy! I have loved it well and given my best service to establish it among the nations of the earth. But it has all been in vain, so far as national independence is concerned. There are doubtless lessons in it for our good, as well as for the good of all the people of America, and I seem to realize more and more that God's hand is in it, and that He has ordered it well.

Meridian, Miss. May 9th, (Tuesday): In the hurry of other business, I will write a little here, the last perhaps that I will ever write as a soldier of the Confederate States. And indeed I am a soldier no longer. This morning we formally laid down our arms. This act ends the "Rebellion" East of the Mississippi River.

The armies of both Lee and Johnston having both been surrendered to overwhelming numbers, there was no other course for Gen. Taylor to pursue. To have continued the struggle would have been madness—nay—it would have been murder. He therefore surrendered all the troops in this Department to Maj. Gen. E. R. S. Canby of the U. S. A. at Citronelle, Ala. on the 4th day of May, 1865. No other army was surrendered on better terms than we are.

But I will note a few events that have occurred. About the time of my last entry, I made a short visit to Cuba, Sta. There is nothing to be seen except a Government Bakery, and a Government smoke-house, I never saw so much bacon at once as I saw there.

On Sunday, May 7th, we received orders at 5 o'clock A. M. to move at 7 o'clock. Most of the men at once resolved that they would carry their guns no longer, so they filled the ordnance

wagon with guns—piled them around it, and leaned them by trees on the road side.

We moved at the designated hour, returning by the same road we went out on. We marched sixteen miles that day, and arrived here yesterday about 11 o'clock A. M. We found part of the garrison of Blakely here to be paroled.

Capt. Durham of Co. "K" who was captured at Blakely, and had already been paroled kindly consented to assume command of our detachment to aid us. We have made out the rolls of the enlisted men, and the officers have signed their individual paroles. They are to sign paroles for the men.

Upon our arrival here yesterday, I collected all the guns in Sears' Brigade, numbering three, and taking one myself, taking two men with me, I marched them to the tent of the Commanding officer, and politely informed him that that was Sears' Brigade, and asked *where* he would have it stack its arms. With a smile he pointed out a place.

Thus my last act as a soldier is performed on nearly the same ground that I began my life in camp.

May 12th (Friday):—Just before leaving, I will write a last line in camp. Numerous delays occured in paroling this command, at which nearly everybody found occasion to grumble. The delay was occasioned largely by the hundreds of *deserters*, who are daily reporting and claiming paroles. At first no obstacle was thrown in their way, but they have become so numerous, that Gen. Taylor advised that no more paroles be given them. He is reported as saying that he surrendered eight thousand men, and twenty thousand men claiming paroles. I do not know what disposition Gen. Canby will make of the matter.

Our paroles were received at noon, today. Some had grown impatient and left without them. Powers will go out on the Vicksburg road, and Robertson and I will go to Enterprise.

Fertile Glade, Miss. May 16 (Tuesday):—After an uneventful trip, by way of Pauling and Oak Bowery Church, and after sleeping in the woods two nights, we reached our homes Sunday afternoon, May 14th, 1865.

And so the war is over. When I consider all that I have seen and heard, all that I have learned of men and motives, I am constrained to ask my self "What is it all for?" I have learned things of men that I wish I had never known, and I have learned things of God, that I trust will secure my entrance into the rest that remaineth for His people.

I am weary trying to solve the problems that confront us. My heart is sick and sore, and I would fain shut my eyes to the

painful picture. As a people, we have failed,—as Americans, it seems to me, we have demonstrated that we are incapable of governing ourselves.

Individually, we must address ourselves to the material problems of life.

May the Spirit of God guide and direct us in all our ways.—

The Staff of a Regiment consists of the following officers,—in addition to those named above: Chaplain (J. L. Lattimore) ranking as Capt. and Adjutant (James Porter et al) and Ensign (R. H. Wildy) ranking as 1st Lt. The non-commissioned Staff consists of Sergt Major,—Ordnance Serg't. Commissary Sergt. and Quartermaster Sergt., all ranking as 1st Serg't and Wagon Master ranking as 2d Sergt.

Each company is entitled to five Serg'ts and four Corporals.

Two or more companies form a Battalion and the number of Companies is less than six, they are entitled to a Major. If six or more, to a Lt. Col. and Major. Ten companies form a regiment and are entitled to a Col. Lt. Col. and a Major.

Two or more Regiments form a Brigade, commanded by a Brig. Gen. Two or more Brigades form a Division commanded by a Maj. Gen. A Corps consists of two or more Division, and is commanded by a Lt. Gen.

There were five *Generals* in the Confederate service.

A ROSTER OF THE OFFICERS OF THE 46TH MISS. REG'T.

(NOTE:—I regret that I am unable to present a complete Roster of my Regimental officers. The following is the list as it stood July 4th, 1863, the day of the surrender of Vicksburg. A few of the subsequent changes are noted.)

F. & Staff	*Name*	*Rank*	*Remarks*
	C. W. Sears	Col.	Promoted to Brig. Gen. wounded at Franklin.
	W. K. Easterling	Lt. Col.	Resigned—Died in 1904
	W. H. Clarke	Major	Promoted to Lt. Col. & Col. Killed at Allatoona
	P. J. McCormick	Major	Surgeon. Ranks a Major. Died in 1905
	R. L. Dunn	Capt.	Assistant Surgeon.
	W. R. Sheppard	Capt.	Quartermaster.
Co. "A"	W. R. McQuiston	Capt.	Best Statistician in Regiment—Resigned
" "	Nicholas Pace	1st Lt.	Promoted to Capt.
" "	James White	2d Lt.	
" "	James I. Lampley	Jr. 2d Lt.	
Co. "B"	T. D. Magee	Capt.	Promoted to Maj. Lt. Col. & Col. wounded at Franklin
" "	G. C. Buchanan	1st Lt.	Promoted to Capt.
" "	M. M. Lott	2d Lt.	Dropped from Roll of Officers
" "	T. G. Crawford	Jr. 2d Lt.	Dropped from Roll of Officers
Co. "C"	J. M. Sublett	Capt.	Most enterprising officer in Regiment.
" "	W. L. Stanford	1st Lt.	
" "	C. M. White	2d Lt.	
" "	J. M. Wiles	Jr. 2d Lt.	
Co. "D"	J. A. Barwick	Capt.	
" "	J. S. Easterling	1st Lt.	Bro. of Col. Easterling—Resigned
" "	L. C. Alliston	2d Lt.	
" "	W. H. Barnett	Jr. 2d Lt.	
Co. "E"	James B. Hart	Capt.	
" "	Edwin H. Smith	1st Lt.	
" "	Geo. W. Tiller	2d Lt.	
" "	S. H. Childress	Jr. 2d Lt.	
Co. "F"	Constantine Rea	Capt.	Promoted to Maj.—Wounded and died.
" "	W. F. McKinnon	1st Lt.	Resigned.
" "	T. P. Wiggins	2d Lt.	Promoted to 1st Lt & Capt. died 1871.
" "	S. T. Williams	Jr. 2d Lt.	Resigned
Co. "G"	D. D. Heslip	Capt.	
" "	Geo. D. Davis	1st Lt.	Killed at Allatoona
" "	John A. Epting	2d Lt.	Wounded at Nashville and died.
" "	Jasper Boykin	Jr. 2d Lt.	Dropped from roll.....
Co. "H"	W. A. McAlpine	Capt.	Resigned
" "	Geo. W. Stubbs	1st Lt.	Promoted to Capt.—Resigned
" "	A. L. Bratcher	2d Lt.	Resigned.
" "	B. D. Anderson	Jr. 2d Lt.	Promoted to 1st Lt & Capt. Killed at Allatoona.
Co. "I"	John Watts	Capt.	Resigned
" "	Timothy Burgess	1st Lt.	Promoted to Capt.
" "	S. R. Martin	2d Lt.	Promoted to 1st Lt.
" "	T. H. Creel	Jr. 2d Lt.	Dropped from Roll of officers.
Co. "K"	D. C. Durham	Capt.	
" "	D. C. Chamberlain	1st Lt.	
" "	John McRae	2d Lt.	Resigned
" "	D. D. Durham	Jr. 2d Lt.	

MUSTER-ROLL OF CO. "B" 46TH MISS. REG'T. FROM OCT. 31, 1864, TO FEBRUARY 28, 1865.

(Last one made out.)

No.	*Names*	*Rank*	*Present or absent*	*Remarks.*
	G. C. Buchanan	Capt	Present	
	J. T. Duckworth	1st Lt.	Absent	Captured at Nashville, Dec. 16, 1864.
	A. H. McLaurin	2d Lt	"	On Furlough
	F. E. Collins	Jr. 2d Lt	"	Captured at Nashville, Dec. 16, 1864
1	W. P. Chambers	1st Sergt.	Present	
2	S. J. Harper	2d Sergt	"	
3	Thomas Biglane	3d Sergt	Absent	In Hospital since Nov. 3d, 1864
1	Willis Pickering	Corporal	Present	
2	J. C. Dykes	"	Absent	In Hospital since Nov. 3, 1864
3	J. M. McRaney	"	Present	
1	Bond, Jasper	Private	Absent	In Hospital since Nov. 3, 1864
2	Bass, W. T. J.	"	"	Captured Aug. 4, 1864
3	Clark, L. C.	"	"	In Hospital since Feb. 3d, 1865
4	Eaton, S. J.	"	Present	
5	Freeman, F. M.	"	Absent	In hospital May 24, 1864, absent without leave.
6	Gibbons, W. R.	"	"	On furlough
7	Gibbons, F. M.	"	"	On furlough
8	Gentry, A.	"	"	On furlough
9	Howell, F. M.	"	"	In Hospital, Wounded Franklin Nov. 3, 1864.
10	Howell, S. M.	"	"	On furlough
11	Keyes, J. W.	"	Present	
12	Lott, N. J.	"	Absent	without leave. Aug. 4, 1864.
13	McPhail, Joseph	"	Present	
14	McPhail, Jno.	"	Absent	Captured at Atlanta, Sept. 1, 1864
15	McMillan, J. S.	"	"	Detailed as teamster.
16	Moore, W. L.	"	"	In hospital since Nov. 30, 1864
17	Maxey, James	"	"	In hospital since Nov. 3, 1864.
18	Powers, J. R.	"	Present	
19	Prine, A.	"	Absent	Captured near Smyrna Church July 5, 1864.
20	Pickering, John	"	"	On furlough
21	Robertson, G. G.	"	"	Captured at Allatoona, Oct. 5, 1864.
22	Robertson, W. C.	"	Present	
23	Rodgers, Timothy	"	Absent	On furlough
24	Rodgers, Norvell	"	"	In hospital since Nov. 30, 1864
25	Rodgers, S.	"	"	In hospital since Feb. 7, 1864
26	Sullivan, T. J. H.	"	Present	
27	Sullivan, L.	"	Absent	Detailed as Wagon Escort.
28	Sullivan, W. P.	"	"	In hospital since Oct. 5, 1864
29	Sullivan, H.	"	Present	
30	Sullivan, C.	"	"	
31	Speed, B. F.	"	Absent	In hospital since July 17, 1864
32	Ware, J. H.	"	Present	(Cook)
33	Wilkes, A. J.	"	"	
34	Watts, Ellis	"	Absent	In hospital since Feb. 9, 1865
35	Wilkes, S. H. P.	"	Present	
36	Wilkes, J. A.	"	"	

Transferred.

No.	*Names*	*Rank*	*Present or absent*	*Remarks.*
	Herrin, S.	Private		To Co. "G" 7th Miss. Bat.

Died

	Duckworth, Z. F.	Private		Died of wounds received Aug. 22, 1864. Died Sept. 23, 1864.

Deserted

1	Baker, Joseph	Private		Deserted, Tuscumbia, Ala., Oct. 30, 1864.
2	Cole, J. F.	"		Deserted, Chattahoochee River, July 9, 1864.
3	Hester, Henry	"		Deserted, Tuscumbia, Ala., Oct. 30, 1864.
4	Hester, Isaac	"		Deserted, Tuscumbia, Ala., Oct. 30, 1864.
5	Lott, A.	"		Deserted, Tuscumbia, Ala., Oct. 30, 1864.

The following were enlisted as recruits but never reached Camp, because of the surrender.

1 Dykes, Dennis
2 McNair, R.
3 Smith, W. P.
4 Smith, J. C.
5 Speed, J. M.
6 Sullivan, Alex.

MUSTER ROLL OF CO. "B" 46TH MISS. REG'T. AS COMPILED FROM MEMORY.

(This roll is accurate so far as regards the officers, and is nearly accurate all the way through.)

Date of election

Feb. 22, 1862	F. D. Magee.	Capt	Promoted to Maj. Lt. Col. and Col.
Feb. 22, 1862	G. C. Buchanan	1st Lt.	Promoted to Capt.
Feb. 22, 1862	Archie, Fairley	2d Lt.	Defeated at Reelection.
May 14, 1862	M. M. Lott,	2d Lt.	Dropped from Roll
Feb. 22, 1862	J. A. Graham,	Jr. 2d Lt.	Resigned.
March 13, 1863	T. G. Crawford,	Jr. 2d Lt.	Dropped from Roll.
Dec. 8, 1863	J. T. Duckworth	Jr. 2d Lt.	Promoted to 2d and 1st Lt.
Dec. 29, 1863	A. H. McLaurin	Jr. 2d Lt.	Promoted to 2d Lt.
Sept. 23, 1864	F. E. Collins.	Jr. 2d Lt.—	

Names	*Remarks*	*Names*	*Remarks*
Atwood, G. W.	Died	Hester, Isaac	
Baker, Joseph		Howell, F. M.	
Barnes, John	Transfered	Howell, J. T.	Died
Bass, J. H.	Killed	Howell, S. M.	
Bass, W. T. J.		Keyes, Joshua	
Biglane, Thomas		Keyes, J. W.	
Blackwell, J. W.		Lee, W. W.	Died
Bond, Jasper		Lott, Arthur	
Braddy, A. E.	Died	Lott, Thomas	
Braddy, John	Died	Lott, Cullen	
Broom, Thomas		Lott, A. J.	Died
Carr, John		Lott, N. J.	
Carr, Thomas		Magee, H. R.	
Carter, N. H.	Died	Magee, G. W.	
Carter, C. R.	Died	Magee, T. J.	
Carter, J. W.	Died	Magee, W. I.	
Carter, W. E.	Died	Manning, W. J.	Killed
Chambers, W. P.		Mathews, John	
Clark, L. C.		Matthews, W. A.	
Cole, J. F.		Maxey, James	
Cole, C. P.		Milloy, John	Died
Cook, Marion	Died	Moore, W. L.	
Duckworth, Z. F.	Killed	Morris, Winston	Died
Dyes, W. P.		McLane, D. R.	Died
Dykes, J. C.		McMillan, J. S.	
Dykes, Irving	Died	McNair, A.	Killed
Easterling, Z. A.	Died	McPhail, J. R.	Died
Eaton, S. J.		McPhail, John	
Freeman, E. G.	Died	McPhail, Joseph	
Freeman, Harvey	Died	McRaney, J. M.	
Freeman, F. M.		Pace, W. M.	Died
Gentry, A.		Pickering, John	
Gibbons, W. R.		Pickering, Willis	
Gibbons, F. M.		Powers, J. R.	
Gibson, Joe.		Prine, A.	
Graham, F. M.		Reddock, J. V.	Killed
Harper, S. J.		Robertson, F. A.	Discharged
Hathorn, G. R.		Robertson, G. G.	
Herrin, S.	Transferred	Robertson, J. S.	Died
Hester, Henry		Robertson, Stephen,	Killed

Names	*Remarks*	*Names*	*Remarks*
Rodgers, B. F.	Died	Sullivan, C.	
Rodgers, Josiah		Turnage, F. D.	
Rodgers, Norvell		Ware, J. H.	
Rodgers, S.		Watts, J. A. P.	
Rodgers, Timothy		Watts, Ellis	
Rodgers, Z. M.	Killed	Watson, John	
Rowell, John		Whitehead, Daniel	
Rowell, William		Whitehead, Thomas	
Short, Archy		Wilkes, A. J.	
Speed, B. F.		Wilkes, S. H. P.	
Speed, W. R.	Died	Wilkes, J. A.	
Speights, E. L. L.	Died	Wilkinson, M. M.	Died
Stuckey, Elisha	Died	Wilkinson, D. L.	
Sullivan, H.		Williams, John,	Killed
Sullivan, W. P.		Williamson, J. P.	Killed
Sullivan, L.		Williamson, J. H.	Died
Sullivan, T. J. H.		Yawn, Green.	

A LIST OF DEATHS IN CO. "B."

N. H. Carter	At Home	March 15, 1862,	of Disease
C. R. Carter	At Home	March 15, 1862,	of disease
W. W. Lee	Meridian, Miss.	May 5, 1862,	of Disease
G. W. Atwood	Smedes Point, Miss.	June 18, 1862	"
A. E. Braddy	Smedes Point, Miss.	July, 6, 1862	"
A. J. Lott	Smedes Point, Miss.	July, 7, 1862	"
John Milloy	Brandon, Miss.	July 12, 1862	"
F. D. Turnage	Camp Tupelo, Miss.—	July 12, 1862	"
Benj. Rodgers	Camp Tupelo, Miss.	July 15, 1862	"
Elisha Stuckey	Miss Springs, Miss.	July 4, 1862	"
J. T. Howell	At Home, Miss	July 16, 1862	"
D. R. McLane	Clinton, Miss	July 26, 1862	"
Marion Cook	Miss Springs Miss	Aug. 1, 1862	"
W. M. Pace	Monticello, Miss.	Aug. 7, 1862	"
Irving Dykes	Clinton, Miss.	Aug. 14, 1862	"
J. R. McPhail	Clinton, Miss.	Aug. 25, 1862	"
Winston Morris	At Home	Aug. 23, 1862	"
Harvey Freeman	Hazlehurst, Miss.	Aug. 29, 1862	"
J. S. Robertson	Vicksburg, Miss	Nov 21, 1862	"
John Braddy	Crystal Springs, Miss	Dec. 19, 1862	"
E. G. Freeman	Vicksburg, Miss.	March 19, 1863	"
W. R. Speed	In Camp, V'burg.	April 10, 1863	"
E. L. L. Speights	Lauderdale Springs, Miss.	April 14, 1863	"
J. H. Williamson	In camp, V'burg	May 1, 1863	"
John Williams	Vicksburg, Miss.	May 19, 1863	Killed
W. E. Carter	Vicksburg, Miss.	June 8, 1863	Disease
W. J. Manning	Vicksburg, Miss.	June, 10, 1863	Killed
M. M. Wilkinson	At Home	July 5, 1863	Disease
J. W. Carter	New Orleans, La.	July, 15, 1863	Disease

Serg't. Jonathan H. Bass was killed at Kennesaw Mountain Ga., June 27, 1864

Private Josiah Rodgers, was wounded at New Hope Church, Ga. June 3, 1864. Died at Home July, 14, 1864

Private, Stephen Robertson was killed at Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 14, 1864

Private, Z. M. Rodgers, was wounded at Lovejoy Sta. Ga. Sept. 5, 1864. Died at Macon, Ga. Sept. 1864.

Private Z. F. Duckworth was wounded at Atlanta, Ga. Aug. 22, 1864. Died at Barnesville, Ga. Sept. 23, 1864.

Private Z. A. Easterling, died at home from the effects of a self-inflicted, accidental wound, Sept. 23, 1864.

Serg't. J. P. Williamson, was killed at Allatoona, Ga. Oct. 5, 1864.

Private, Adelbert McNair, was killed at Allatoona, Ga., Oct. 5, 1864.

Private Jas. Virgil Reddock was killed at Allatoona, Ga. Oct. 5, 1864.

INDEX

A

Abekas, representation of, at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Acworth, Ga., 287, 333
Acts: for appointing constables, 55
for improvement of transportation facilities, 57
for intake of moneys for building of bridges, 56
for payment of clerks and messengers of the Council and Assembly, 57
for punishing offenders against Indians, 56
for regulating Indian trade, 32
for regulating taverns, 55
for security of property, 32
improperly drawn and needing revision, 32-34
regarding taxation, 55, 56, 57
Adair, Capt. Wm. H., death of, 270
Adairsville, Ga., 314
Addy, J. S., 338, 339, 340
Agriculture, suitability of Mississippi River land for. *See* Mease's narrative, 58-90
Alabama, Civil War in, 284-287, 292, 294-311, 338, 339, 354-360, 362
depredations of soldiery in, 308
hospitality of, 367
peace attitude of, 347
Alabama Brigade, Cantey's, 304
Alabama troops:
17th Alabama Reg't, 305
57th Alabama Reg't, 344
Alexander, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Alibamous, representation of, at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Allatoona, battle at, 333-336
Allen, Col. H. W., 239
American Baptist Education Society, gift of to Mississippi College, 211
Amite, River, 93-98
Township of, proposal regarding establishment of, 95
Apalachicola River, description of, 175
Appapaye, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 151
Anderson, Capt. B. D., death of, 334
Anderson, Joe, 230
Anderson, Jonathan, 279
Andersonville Prison, 349
Andrews, Mr., missionary, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358
Antioch Church, 262
Aquatic fowl, as described by Mease, 64, 65, 68, 70
Appomattox, rumors from, 369
Archer, Capt. Alexander, 339
"Arkansas," Confederate ram, 239, 241
Arkansas troops in Civil War, 301, 303, 304
25th Arkansas Reg't, 339
Artesia, Miss., 344, 345, 347
Assembly, in West Florida governmental plans, 3
Astolabe of Mongulacha, Mease's Indian companion, on return trip from Natchez, 80
Atlanta, Ga., Confederate operations at, 292, 324-329
description of, 286
evacuation of, 328, 329
Atwood, G. W., death of, 236
Auburn, Ala., 286
Authority, civil, discussion regarding limitations of, 90-92
Military, discussion regarding limitations of, 90-92

B

Baldwin's Brigade at Vicksburg, 265
"Baldwin's Cavalry," 257, 261
Baldwin, Gen. W. E., appointment of, 252
at Resaca, Ga., 287
in Parole Camp, 279
funeral of, 299
inspection by, 291
review of troops by, 281
wounding of, at Vicksburg, 266
Balfour, Col. J. W., 229, 241, 246

Balfour, Col. J. W., election of, as Lieutenant Colonel, 228
removal of, 240
Baker's Creek, battle of, 262
Bakewell, A. G., Chaplain, 305, 315
Bankston, S. R., preacher, 225, 369
Baptist Church, war camp services of, 225, 280, 281, 282, 306, 307, 323, 326, 330, 358
Barnes, James, 278
Barnes, John, 278, 327
Barry, W. S., Colonel of 35th Reg't, 303, 305, 355, 356
at Dalton, Ga., 287
opposition of, to Colonel Holland, 303
resignation of, 305
wounding of, 336
Bartram, explorer of Province of West Florida, 7
Barwick, Capt. J. A., 355, 362
Bass, Serg't Jonathan H., 291
death of, 321
Bass, W. T. J., 326, 341
Baton Rouge, La., 241
early days of, 13, 14
lands about, as described in Mease's narrative, 69, 70
"Battle of the Lightning Bugs," 317
Baugh, Joel R., Captain in Covington Fencibles," 222, 230, 315
Baxter's "Saints' Rest," 357
Bay Minette, Ala., 361
Baya Ouma, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 153
Baylor, Colonel, of Texas, 370
Bayou Le Batre, Ala., 46th Reg't at, 298-302
Beaver Tooth King, The, Indian chief present at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Bell, Jefferson, 288
Bellisle, Peter Chester at, 1
Benoit, Captain, 354
Bethel Church, Ala., 311
Big Bayou Pierre, 257, 259
Big Black Bridge, battle of, 262
Big Black River, Baldwin's Cavalry on, 260
Big Shanty, Ga., 286, 333
Births, Register of, June 24-Dec. 24, 1770, 41-43
importance of, to genealogists, 6, 7
Blackwell, Warren, 231, 241
Blakely, Ala., battle line at, 360-362, fall of, 365
Blake's Levee, Miss., 249
Blue Mountain, Ala., 312, 313, 338
Bolton, Miss., 232
Bond, Jasper, baptism of, 282
in Parole Camp, 279
Boone, Daniel, forging into Kentucky by, 11
Bouge Pasca Oocoloo, description of, 172
Bovina, Miss., 232, 262
Bowman's Artillery, 252
Brack, Captain in 35th Reg't, 355
Bradley, J. M., 282
Bradly, John, death of, 247
Brady, Addison, death of, 238
Bragg, General, retreat of, 287
Brandon, Miss., 243
"Covington Rebels'" departure from, 222
description of, 222
Breckenridge, Gen. John C., 237
Breland, Mr., 367
Bridges, act affecting revenue for building of, 56
Britts, Dr., 339
Brookhaven, Miss., 226
Brooksville, Miss., 344
Brown, Colonel, of 36th Reg't, 223
Browne, Montfort, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of West Florida, 1
Brownsville, Ga., 332
Bryers, Mr., 363
Bucatunna Bridge, Miss., 298, 368
Buchanan, a Lieutenant in "Covington Rebels," 223, 224, 246, 247, 252, 277, 279, 282, 283, 288, 290, 298, 304, 316, 317, 326
appointment of, as Captain, 332, 337, 352, 353, 359
Buell, General, rumor of death of, 226, 228
Building ordinances, conflict regarding authority in, between Peter Chester and Brigadier General Haldimand, 90-92
Burgess, Captain, 291
Burials, Register of, June 24-Dec. 24, 1770, 41-43
Dec. 24, 1770-June 24, 1771, 52
Burke, Colonel, of Federal recruits, 349
Burke, Edmund, attack upon Privy Council by, 2
Bynum, Claiborne E., 231
Bynum, Drury A., 231
Bynum, Hon. Drury, 278, 279, 281
Bynum, Lieutenant J. H., 281
Bynum, Dr. J. M., 279

C

Cahaba River, 311
Camp Cummings, 301
Camp Lee, Ala., Confederate forces in, 302-306
Canby, Maj. Gen. E. R. S., 372
Canes, in the Mississippi River section, according to Mease, 78, 79
Cantey, Brigadier General, of Alabama Brigade, 304
Carkett, Captain, present at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
Carlisle, F. J., 344
Carnegie, Andrew, provisional gift by, to Mississippi College, 212
Carolinians, settlements by, in West Florida, described by Mease, 72
Carr, Jno., 232
Carter, E. L., preacher, 277, 283
Carter, James, 281
Carter, Wm. Erasmus, death of, 270
Carter, Mr., of Vicksburg, 236
Carter, Mrs. W. P., 279
Carter, W. P., preacher, 281
Cartersville, Ga., 315
Cassville, Ga., battle at, 314, 315
Catchings, Dr., 358, 369
Catchings, Mr., 277
Cato, Miss., 222
Caughman, Sergeant, death of, 326
Cave Springs, Ga., 313, 314, 338
Cedar Town, Ga., 338
Cedar Point, Ala., 360
Centerville, Ala., 312
Chacta, troubles of, with Creeks, as told by Mease, 89
Chacta country, Mease's stay in, 83, 84
Chamberlain, Lieutenant, negro of, story of, 275
Chambers, Pitt, author of "My Journal," 221, 231, 232, 235, 239, 283, 288, 294, 340, 360
  after Vicksburg, 277
  appointment of, as Sergeant, 255, 307
  at Atlanta, 325, 329
  at Kennesaw Mountain, 321
  enlistment of, in "Covington Rebels," 221
  illness of, in camp, 228, 230, 235, 363
  in Parole Camp (1863), 278-281
  messmates of, 222
Chambers, Pitt, operation on, 339
  parole of, 372
  wounding of, 336, 337
Chambers, soldier, 349
  baptism of, 306
Champion, C. C., 344
Champion, Dick, 344
Champion Hill, battle of, 262
Charleston, S. C., 345
"Charm," steamer, 256
Chattahoochie River, battle line on, 322
Chattanooga, 286
  retreat from, 287
Chatto Hatcha, description of, 175
Cheatham's Corps, 352
Chester, Peter, address of, to Indians at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 136
  appointment of, to governorship of Province of West Florida, date of, 2
  approbation of, of Treaty *re* cession of lands by Creeks, 131
  army career of, 1, 2
  arrival of, at Pensacola, 2
  attitude of, toward colonization, 3
    toward French settlements on Mississippi, 4
    toward Indians, 5, 6, 8, 9
    toward settlement of Mississippi River country, 7, 8
    toward slavery, 4, 5
  authorization by, of Philip Livingston as Secretary of Congress with Choctaws, 134-135
  birth of, 1
  concluding speech of, at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 126-128
  conference of, with Creeks, *re* boundary lines, 8, 9
  correspondence of, as source of data concerning, 2
  Daniel Huay's deposition before, *re* Natchez settlement, 18, 26, 27
  death of, 16
  differences of, with General Haldimand, 54, 90-92
  early career of, 1
  embarkation of, for Europe, 15, 16
  handling of foreign affairs by, 6
  handling of lawlessness by, 6
  length of service of, to Great Britain, 1

Chester, Peter, letters of: to Earl of Dartmouth, *re* land grants (No. 10), 168-171
re plans for Northern colonization (No. 7), 167, 168
re purchase of an official government house (No. 6), 165-167
to Earl of Hillsborough, *re* arrival at Pensacola (Letter No. 1), 2, 17
re civil and military authority (No. 30), 90-92
re difficulties between civil and military authorities, 7
re dissolution of general assembly (Letter No. 48), 160-163
re French Roman Catholic desire for a government subsidy for support of a priest (Letter No. 41), 107-108
re governor's residence (Letter No. 5), 30, 31
re Indian policies (Letter No. 37), 99, 100
re Natchez settlement (Letter No. 3), 18-27
re need of Creek-Choctaw boundary settlement (Letter No. 19), 44-51
re newly enacted laws (Letter No. 8), 32-34
re proceedings of the Council and Assembly (Letter No. 29), 55-57
re proposed Mississippi-Iberville cut (Letter No. 36), 92-98
re relations between civil and military authorities (Letter No. 28), 54, 55
re relations with Indians (Letter No. 11), 38-41
re results of meeting with chiefs of Upper Creek Nation, at Pensacola, 105-107
re Spanish depredations (Letter No. 4), 28, 29
re Spanish menace (Letter No. 10), 34-38
to John Stuart, *re* Indian policies, 100
letters to: of Charles Stuart, *re* Indian grievances, 46-51
of John McIntire, *re* Natchez settlement, 18, 25, 26
Chester, Peter, letters to: of John Stuart, *re* Indian and concessions in Province of Florida, 131
of Thomas Gallimore, *re* Spanish attack, 28, 29
of T. Sowers, *re* plans for West Florida defense against Spanish attack, 36, 37
life and career of, 1
loyalty of, to British crown, 16
marriage of, to Jane Corcoran, 1
old age of, 16
on improperly drawn acts, 32-34
on need for Creek congress, 41
on restrictions on trade with Indians, 38-40
Pensacola defense preparations by, 5
presence of, at Bellisle, 1
at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
at Martinique, 1
relations of, with Commander Haldimand, 3
speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, *re* progress made, 154
re presents to Indians, 156-158
at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 110-112
surrender of, to Spanish, 15
Chickamauga, battle of, 279
Chickasaw Bayou, 247, 253
battle on, 248-250
Chickasaw Indians, congress with, 134-160
Chickasaw Nation, behavior of, report on, 163-164
relations with, 104
Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 134-160
Choctaw chiefs, visit of, to New Orleans, 103, 105
Choctaw Great Medal Chiefs, presence of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135-136
Choctaw Indians, congress with, 134-158
proposed council with, 100, 102
Roman's description of, 173
value of friendship of, 95, 97
Choctaw Nation, relations with, 104
Choctaw Small Medal Chiefs, presence of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135-136

Cholko Oulachta, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 149
Chunbey, Miss., 223
"Cincinnati," Federal ironclad, 267
Citronelle, Ala., 284, 293
  surrender at, 372
Civil authority, discussion regarding extension of, 90-92
Civil War, The, in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi, account of, in Chambers' "My Journal," 221-380
Claiborne, Ala., 231, 361, 365
Claiborne's "Life of Gen. Sam. Dale," 230
Clarke, General Chas., wounding of, 226
Clarke, Captain J. C., of "Yazoo Pickets," 229
Clarke, N. C., missionary, 282
Clarke, Colonel W. H., 224, 243, 246, 247, 257, 259, 278, 290, 308, 332
  appointment of, 305
  at "Battle of the Lightning Bugs," 317
  death of, 334
  wounding of, 318
Clinton, Miss., 232
  location of Mississippi College, 190, 191
Clinton Gazette, on Mississippi College, 186, 187
Cockrell, General, 356
  at Blakely, 361
Cockrell's Brigade, 314, 316, 318, 333, 338, 360
Colbert, Colonel, 287
Cole, Sergeant, 240
Coleman, Colonel of "Ector's Brigade," 304, 356
Collier, Anna, Chambers' correspondence with, 223, 225, 230
Collins, Lieutenant F. E., 278, 292, 332, 349
Collins, T. E., illness of, 230
Colonization, of Florida, by Northerners, plan for, 167, 168
  Governor Chester's attitude toward, 3
Columbiad, gun, 271
Columbus, Miss., 225, 345, 346
Comfort, Daniel, principal of Mississippi Academy, 185
Conecuh River, 304
Confederacy, failure of, 350, 371, 372
Confederate camps, disease in, 229, 230, 235, 236, 238, 240
Confederate camps, elections in, 228, 242, 246, 288, 332
  equipment of, 248
  peace attitude of, 355
  re-enlistments in, 305, 306
Confederate Cavalry, Fifteenth, 298, 361, 364, 365
  at Bayou Le Batre, 300
Confederate deserters, 251, 252, 281, 282, 284, 295, 301, 310, 341, 373
Confederate forces in Alabama, 284-287, 292, 294-311, 338, 339, 354-360, 362
  in Georgia, 287-297, 314-338, 324-329, 330-339, 362
  in Mississippi, 233-283, 293, 344-360, 367-373
  morale of, 294, 295, 324, 347, 348, 350
  reorganization of, after Vicksburg, 276-278, 282, 283
Confederate notes, value of, 302
Confederate soldiers, depredations by, 308
  wages of, 243, 248, 256, 278, 292, 302, 356, 370, 371
Congress, Choctaw-Chickasaw, papers relating to, 134-160
Connor, settles at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Conscript Law, Confederate, 228
"Consolidated Veterans," 344, 349
Constables, act for appointment of, 55
Cook, Marion, death of, 241
Coosa River, 313
Copeland, John H., death of, 279
"Coquette," steamer, 339.
Corcoran, Jane, marriage of, to Peter Chester, 1
Corinth, Miss., 344
  battle of, 224, 225, 226
Cornell, Joseph, Interpreter, at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
  affidavit, 130
Comit, River, 93-98
Correspondence: Charles Stuart's to Governor Chester, *re* Indian grievances, 46-51
  Edward Mease to Earl of Hillsborough, 58
  John McIntire to Peter Chester, *re* Natchez settlement, 18, 25, 26
  Peter Chester to Earl of Hillsborough, 17-41

Correspondence: T. Sowers to Peter Chester, *re* defensive building operations in West Florida, 36, 37
Thomas Gallimore to Peter Chester, *re* Spanish attack against British, 28, 29
Cotton, beginning of cultivation of, 13
growing of, suitability of Mississippi River soil for, according to Mease's narrative, 67
Krebs's complete outfit for ginning of, 13
Council, His Majesty's members of, present at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
in West Florida governmental plans, 3
Council Clerks, act regarding payment of, 57
Council messengers, act regarding payment of, 57
Cousha Ouman, speech of at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 153
"Covington Fencibles," 222
Covington, Miss., 221
"Covington Rebels," at Meridian, 223-231
at Vicksburg, 232, 255
death list of, 241
elections of, 228, 242, 246
encampment of, 226, 229
mustered into Confederate service, 224
wages of, 243, 248
Cowan, Sergeant Warren, 307
"Crackers," coming of, into the Province of West Florida, 6
Craigs Ferry, Ala., 311
Crawford, Doctor, 231, 243
Crawford, Miss., 344
Crawford, Lieutenant T. G., 252, 253, 279, 283, 284
Creek cession of lands, letters regarding, 130-134
treaty, official affidavit, 131-134
Creek concessions on River Escambia, possibility of, 105, 106
Creek Congress, need for, Peter Chester on, 41
report on, 108-130
affidavit by interpreters on conferences, 130
Creek Nation, relations with, 104
Upper, chiefs of, results of meeting with Chester and Stuart at Pensacola, 105-107
Creek-Choctaw boundary settlement, need for, Peter Chester on, 44, 45
Creeks, conference of, with Gov. Chester, *re* boundary lines, 8, 9
participation of, in congress with John Stuart at Pensacola, 109-130
signs of trouble with Choctaws, as told by Mease, 85, 89
territorial questions arising with, after Treaty of Paris, 101, 102
Creel, B. W., 294, 314
Crestman, J. M., gift by, to Mississippi College, 214-215
Cross Plains, Ala., 313, 338
Crystal Springs, Miss., 276
Cuba Station, Ala., 370, 372
Cuncha, Indian village, visited by Mease, 86

D

Daleville, Miss., 230
Dallas, Ga., 315
Dalton, Ga., description of, 287
Daniel, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Dartmouth, Earl of, Peter Chester's letters to: *re* land grants, 168-171
re plan for Northern colonization of West Florida, 167, 168
re purchase of an official government house in Pensacola, 165-167
Davenport, Lieutenant in 26th Louisiana Reg't, 246
Davis, Captain in 15th Confederate Cavalry, 364
Davis, Lieutenant G. D., death of, 334
Davis, President Jefferson, description of, 247
resolution on, 356
reviews by, 281, 332
Deer, James, 307
Deer Park, Ala., 293
De Galvez, Bernardo, capture of West Florida by, 12, 13, 15
Demopolis, Ala., 277, 340, 360, 366
Denton, 358
Deserters, Confederate, 251, 252, 281, 282, 284, 295, 301, 310, 341, 373
DeSoto, Miss., 231, 232, 293

Devlin, Sergeant B. F., death of, 300
"Dew Drop," mail packet, 253
Dicken's "Great Expectations," 272
Dickson, Major, at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Disease in Confederate camps, 229, 230, 235, 236, 238, 240
District of Coosa, warriors of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135-136
Dog River Factory, Mobile, Ala., 292
departure of Mississippi Regiment from, 303
Dry Creek, Miss., 221
Dry Grove, Miss., 276
Duckworth, J. T., Lieutenant, of "Covington Rebels," 221, 228, 246, 292, 304, 316, 349
elected Captain, 288
Duckworth, Z. F., 288
death of, 327
Dunbar, William, coming of, to Province of West Florida, 13, 14
distinguished colonial, 14
Dunn, Doctor, 336
Durham, Captain D. C., of "Kemper Guards," 244, 373
wounding of, 326
Durnford, Lieutenant Governor Elias, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
report of, on expense of Mississippi-Iberville cut, 98, 99
re proposed Mississippi-Iberville cut, 92, 93
re Spanish-Indian affairs, 102, 103, 104
Durr, Major in 39th Mississippi Reg't, 344
Dwight, H., association of, with Mississippi College, 187, 188
Dyer's Creek, Ala., 363
Dyess, W. P., 251
Dykes, 366
Dykes, Irving, death of, 241

E

Easterling, J. N., death of, at Resaca, 314
Easterling, J. N., letter of, to Chambers, 228
Easterling, Mrs. Rhoda, 341
Easterling, Colonel W. K., 247
appointment of, as Lieutenant-Colonel, 228, 246
at battle of Vicksburg, 250
Captain of "Rankin Farmers," 223, 229
court-martial of, 240, 241
resignation of, 290
Easterling, Z. A., 222, 227, 230, 231, 235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 245, 256
death of, 341
wounding of, 258
Eaton, S. J., 281
Eckford, 231
Ector, Brigadier General, wounding of, 325
Ector's Brigade, 314, 316, 318, 322, 356, 358, 361, 369, 371
Edwards, Miss., 232
battle near, 262
Egypt, battle at, 349
Elections at camp, 228, 242, 246, 288, 332
Elliot, E. N., Professor, principal of Mississippi College, 186
Elliott, John, second governor of the Province of West Florida, 1
Ellisville, Miss., 277
Emerson, W. C., preacher, 230
Emistisiguo, Indian chief, present at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
speeches of, at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola:
first speech, 115-116
second speech, 116-117
third speech, 120-121
fourth speech, 123
fifth speech, 125
sixth speech, 128
concluding remarks, 129
Enochs, Captain I. V., of 36th Reg't, 306
Enterprise, Miss., 231
Parole Camp at, 278, 293
Sherman at, 341
Escambia River, 304
Creek concessions of lands on, 105, 106
Escatawpa, Ala., 293
"Essex," Federal gunboat, 242
Etowah River, Ga., 315
Everett, soldier, 329
Evergreen, Ala., 285
Execution, military, 252

F

Fairley, Lieutenant A., 223, 224, 225, 227, 231, 241
  appointment of, as Captain, 299
Faler, 231
Farmar, Robert, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Favre, Indian interpreter, 64
Fannimingo, Chickasaw chief, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 147
Fayette Hill, Miss., 221
Fayetteville, Ala., 331
Featherston, General W. S., appointment of, 252
Federal gunboats, at Vicksburg, 233, 234, 236, 237, 251
  raids by, 242, 251, 255, 256
  on Yazoo River, 255
Federal prisoners, at Corinth, 226, 227
  description of, 348
Federal soldiers, at Vicksburg capitulation, 275
  in Mississippi and Alabama, 297
"Fencibles, The," 315
Ferdinand, Père, French priest at Mobile, 107
Ferguson, Samuel, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Fertile Glade, Miss., 373
"First Regiment of Consolidated Veterans," 344, 349
Fletcher, Rev. John, wounding of, 327
Forest, Miss., 223, 342
Forney's Division at Vicksburg, 265
Forrest, General, 365
  at Fort Pillow, 368
Fort Crofton, Mease's visit to, 58, 59
Fort Deposit, Ala., 285
Fort Pillow, 368
Fort Powell, bombardment at, 300, 301
Fort Montrose, 360
Foster, Bro., Chaplain, 356, 358, 359
Four-Mile Bridge, 261
"Four-Mile Spring, The," Miss., 238
France, reasons for difficulty with, according to Mease, 66
Freeman, Evan G., death of, 252
Freeman, Harvey, death of, 246
French, Major General, 312, 333
  in Georgia, 316
French settlements, in West Florida, Mease's narrative, 58-90
French's Division, 316
Fruit trees, early raising of, in Mississippi lands, according to Mease, 73, 74, 77

G

Gage, General, commission to Peter Chester from, 91
"Gaines' Invincibles," 227, 229
Gainesville Junction, Miss., 343
Gallimore, Thomas, to Peter Chester, *re* Spanish attack, 28, 29
"Galvanized Yankees," 344
Game, prevalence of, in territory along the Mississippi, as described by Mease, 68, 69, 74, 76, 82
Gandy, J. S., 231, 279
Gardner, Rev., 305
Garrett, Sergeant James, death of, 327
Gauld, George, chartographer, 182
  surveyor of the Coast for West Florida, 65
General Assembly, dissolution of, by Peter Chester, 160-163
General Education Board of New York City, gift of, to Mississippi College, 217
  provisional, 211
Georgetown, Miss., 277
Georgia, Civil War in, 287-297, 314-338, 324-329, 330-339, 362
  peace attitude of, 347
Gerault, Colonel, prejudice against, 245
German, William, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Gibbons, W. R., 356
Gibson's Louisiana Brigade, 360, 361
Gill's "Words and Works of God," 352
Gladden, General, body of, at Meridian, 227
Gordon, C. M., Chaplain, 307, 310, 356, 359
Gordonsville, Va., battle at, 226
Government house, at Pensacola, building of, Peter Chester's letter to Earl of Hillsborough concerning, 90-92
  plan for purchase of, 165-167
Governor of Province of West Florida, Chester as, 1
  Elliott as, 1
  Johnston as, 1
Governor's residence, Peter Chester's letter regarding condition of, 30, 31

Graham, Lieutenant James A., 221, 223
resignation of, 252
Grain-raising possibilities in West Florida, 94
Grains, growing of, as described by Mease, 62, 67, 79
Gramble, Mrs., death of, at Vicksburg, 236
Grand Gulf, Miss., 259
explosions at, 260
Grant's Pass, 356
Grant, General U. S., 262
in Virginia, 369
Graves, Rev. A. R., 236
Greeley, Horace, of *N. Y. Tribune*, 351
Greensboro, Ala., 311, 312
Greenville, Ala., 285
Grenada, Miss., 229
Grierson, Colonel, 349
raid by, 256
Griffin, Mrs., 338
Griffin, Sergeant S. S., 307, 317
"Grindstone Ford," 257
Gun-boats, on the Mississippi, 233, 234, 236, 237, 251

H

Haldimand, Brigadier General Frederick, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
speech of, 138
at Creek Indian Conference at Pensacola, 109
differences of, with Governor Chester as to points of authority, 54
discussion regarding, 90-92
prestige of, 16
relations of, with Governor Chester, 3
Hall's Ferry, Miss., 261
Hall's Mills, Ala., 298
Hamilton, "Colonial Mobile" of, 13
Hamilton, Dr., preacher, 359
Hamilton, Adjutant General Paul, death of, 249
Hamstead Academy, change of name of, to Mississippi Academy, 184
founding of, 184
state endowment of, 184
Hankerson's Ferry, 256, 260
Harbison, M. P., 344, 346, 350, 351, 360
Hardee, Lieutenant General, 288
at Atlanta, 324
review by, 281
Hardee's Corps, 321, 328, 333, 352
Harland's "Moss Side," 272
Harper, Judge, 294
"Harper's Magazine," 230
Harper, S. J., 326
Harris, Captain, of 7th Battalion, 355
Hart, Captain J. B., of "Jeff Davis Rebels," 229, 352, 362
at Blakely, 361
Harvey, Captain Jno. W., 342
Harwich, proposal for establishment of, 93
Hathorn, R. C., 239
Haynes' Bluff, 241
Haynes' Cavalry, 252
Haynes' Landing on Yazoo River, 253, 255
earthworks, 264
Hebert, Brigadier General, 255
review by, 281
Henderson, Lieutenant R. B., death of, 335
Sergeant, 311
Heslip, Captain, 283, 350, 362
Hester, H., 251
Hester, Henry, 329
Hester, Isaac, 329
Hickory, Miss., 223
Hillman, Walter, as president of Mississippi College, 201-204
Hillsborough, Earl of, Edward Mease's letter to, forwarding report of journey to Natchez, 58
Peter Chester's letters to: *re* arrival at Pensacola, 17
re civil and military authority, 90-92
re difficulties between civil and military authorities, 7
re dissolution of General Assembly, 160-163
re governmental subsidy for a French Catholic priest, 107-108
re Governor's residence, 30, 31
re Indian policies, 99, 100
re Natchez settlement, 18-27
re need of Creek-Choctaw boundary settlement, 44-51
re newly enacted laws, 32-34
re proceedings of the Council and assembly (1771), 55-57
re proposed Mississippi-Iberville cut, 92-98
re relations between civil and military authorities, 54-55
re relations with Indians, 38-41

Hillsborough, Peter Chester's letters to: *re* results of meeting with chiefs of upper Creek Nations at Pensacola, 105-107
re Spanish depredations, 28, 29
re Spanish menace, 34-38
Hinton, soldier, 344
Hodge, Brigadier General, 309
Holcomb, Lieutenant Colonel, 304
Holland, Colonel O. S., of 37th Mississippi Reg't, 302, 303, 306
"Holland's Brigade," 302
Holtzclaw's Brigade, 361
Homewood, Miss., 342
Hood, General John B., 342, 331, 352
army of, 344
General Johnston superseded by, 323, 324
Hooder, Michael, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Hood's Corps, 316, 320, 324
Howard College, Ala., 311
Howard, Dr. William, 280, 282
Howell, F. M., wounding of, 326
Howell, S. M., 352
Howell, J. T., 222, 228
death of, 239
Howell, William, 283
Huay, Daniel, deposition of, *re* Natchez settlement, 18, 26, 27
Huntsville, Ala., 296
Hutcheson, Mayor Frans, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
report by, on disposition of West Florida troops, 36
Hutson, Bro., Chaplain, 345, 346, 356
Huyt, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78

I

Iberville River, description of, in Mease's narrative, 69
proposed plan for cut to River Mississippi, 92-98
Illepotapo, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 149
Immigration, Northern, to the Province of West Florida, 9, 12
Independence Day, at Vicksburg, 237
Indian agent, John Stuart, activities of, 8, 11
Indian disorders, fear of possibility of, among Spanish, 102, 103
Indian grievances, Charles Stuart on, 46-51
Indian lands, trespass on, by Whites, 46, 49, 50
Indian life, in Province of West Florida, 177, 178, 180
Indian policy, discussion of, 99
Indian trade, Act regulating, 32
restrictions, Peter Chester on, 38-40
"Indianola," Federal gunboat, 251
Indian-Spanish relations, 99, 100
Indians, Act for punishing offenders against, 56
attitude of Governor Chester towards, 5, 6, 8, 9
Choctaw, value of friendship of, 95
complaints by, against rum importations, 47, 48
Mease's intercourse with, 80, 83, 84, 86, 89
Mississippi, small tribes of, 97
need of friendly relations with, 95, 96, 97
relations with, Peter Chester on, 38-41

J

Jackson, Miss., 232
Jacksonville, Ala., 313, 338
James, Mr., missionary, 343
"Jeff Davis Rebels," 227, 229
Jefferson College, incorporation of, 185
Jennings, Capt. Z. D., memorial gift to Mississippi College, 211
Jennings, Mrs., 341
Jett's farm, Atlanta, 326
"John M. Sharpe," steamer, 255
Johnson, Andrew, President, 370
Johnston, General Albert Sydney, death of, 226
Johnston, General Joseph E., description of, 248, 262, 370, 372
at Vicksburg, 268, 270
in Georgia, 314
recall of, 356
removal of, 331, 332
review by, 281
superseded by General Hood, 323
surrender of, 372
Johnston, Governor, of the Province of West Florida, 1
Jones, H. T., preacher, 282
Jones, John W., Captain of "Jeff Davis Rebels," 227, 229, 240, 241, 242, 246
election of, as Major, 228
Jones, soldier, 329
Jones, Judge W. G., 356

Jonesboro, battle at, 328
Judicial system, of West Florida, 2, 3
Judson Female Institute, Ala., 311
July 4th, at Vicksburg, 237
in 1863, 274

K

Keep, W. W., chaplain, 245
"Kemper Guards," 244
Kennesaw Mountain, Confederate forces at, 319-322
Kingston, Ga., 314
Knight, Mrs., 231
Krebs, cotton-ginning outfit of, 13

L

Ladigo, Ala., 313
Lahatan, Miss., 349, 353
Laird, Sergeant, death of, 320
Lake, Miss., 223
Lakes, inland, communication between and Mississippi River lands, 95
Lampley, Lieutenant James I., 368 369
Land grants, Peter Chester's letter concerning, 168-171
Lattimore, John L., chaplain, 282, 283, 292, 296, 298, 300, 301, 315, 326, 352, 356, 357, 358, 359, 361, 370, 374
"Lattimore Line," 318
Lauderdale Springs, Miss., 343
wounded at, 225
"Laurence Rifles," 226
Leachman, Sergeant Robert, 361
Leaf River Church, 277
Lee, General Robert E., Commander-in-chief of Confederate army, 356, 369, 372
Lee's Corps, 328, 333, 352
Lee, Brigadier General Stephen D., 246, 248, 254, 324
Lee, W. W., death of, 230
Le Fleur, Henry, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 77
interpreter for Mease on return trip from Natchez, 89
Lewis, Mrs., 364
Linbough, J. H., 288
Lincoln, President, assassination of, 370
Lipscomb, Mr., maker of ambrotypes, 227
Little Deer Creek expedition, 253, 254
Little Kennesaw, 318
Livingston, Ala., 371
Livingston, Philip, Jr., authorization of, as deputy secretary at Congress with Creek Indians, 108
as deputy secretary of Congress with Choctaws, 134-135
certification of minutes of Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress by, 160
official endorsement by, of minutes of congresses at Pensacola, 134
Lockhart, Miss., 343
Lomax, Mr., 364
Loring, General, wounding of, 325
Loring's Division, 294, 316, 318, 333, 353
Lost Mountain, Ga., 315, 317, 333
Lott, Andrew J., death of, 238
Lott, Lieutenant M. M., 231, 241, 259, 276, 283, 291
Louisiana, possibilities of acquisition of, 96
Louisiana Brigade, Gibson's, 360, 361
Louisiana troops in Civil War:
3d Louisiana Reg't, 254
4th Louisiana Reg't, 239
12th Louisiana Reg't, 273
17th Louisiana Reg't, 251, 252, 262, 264
26th Louisiana Reg't, 246, 253, 254
at Vicksburg, 234
27th Louisiana Reg't, 246
at Vicksburg, 234
31st Louisiana Reg't, 246, 252, 259, 261, 264, 270
at Vicksburg, 265
Louisianans, after Vicksburg, 276
at Vicksburg, 265
Lovejoy Station, Ga., 330, 331
Lowry, Colonel Robert, of 6th Mississippi Reg't, 310
Lowrey, W. T., as president of Mississippi College, 211, 212
Lytton's "Zanoni," 272

M

McAlpine, Captain, of "Raleigh Rangers," 229, 240
McComb, W. A., Dr., director of 1912 Mississippi College financial campaign, 214
McCormick, Dr., 243, 249, 337
McDonald, Sergeant J. H., 355
McDowell's Landing, 340
McFerrin, J. B., preacher, 347
McGill, Mr., 340, 341, 364

M'Gillivray, half-breed Creek leader, Mease's meeting with, 89
McIlwain, Miss., 311
McInnis, Dr., 225
McIntire, John, to Peter Chester, *re* Natchez settlement, 18, 25, 26
McIntosh, Alexander, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
letter of, *re* Indian-Spanish relations, 100
re visit of Choctaw chiefs to New Orleans, 105
McIntosh, John, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
letter of, to Charles Stuart, *re* Chickasaw Nation behavior, 163, 164
McLane, D. R., death of, 240
McLaurin, Sergeant A. H., 249, 288, 290, 291, 299, 327, 337
appointment of, as Lieutenant, 292
McLemore, Richard, 224, 225, 293, 294, 309
McLeod, Wm., 344
McMurtry, Mr., missionary, 356
McNair, Albert, death of, 334
McNair's Arkansas Brigade, 301, 303, 304
McPhail, J. R., death of, 241
McRae, Adjutant John, 307, 309
McRaney, J. M., 279
Macon, Miss., 343, 344
Magee, T. D., Captain of "Covington Rebels," 221, 222, 224, 225, 229, 232, 240, 245, 249, 251, 252, 259, 282, 283, 290, 291, 301 305, 332
after Vicksburg, 276
appointment of, as Major, 332
illness of, 238
negro of, captured, 275
wounding of, 352
"Magnolia," steamer, 360
Malone, Tom, 286
Manning, W. J., death of, 269
Manshac, description of Mease's journey to, 67, 68
Mease's description of, 67, 71
Mease's visit to, 69
return to, by Mease, 71
"Marengo," steamer, 340
Marietta, Ga., 286, 318, 322
Marion, Ala., 311
Marion, Miss., 353
Marion Station, Miss., 343
Markham, Mr., preacher, 327
Martinque, Peter Chester at, 1
Mattaha Poush Coush, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 153
Maury, General, 298
at Blakely, 361
Maxey, James, 231, 336
wounding of, 266
Mayhew, Miss., 344
Mease, Edward, at Fort Crofton, 58, 59
departure of, from Pensacola, 58
description by, of journey in Province of West Florida, 7
letter of, to Earl of Hillsborough, 58
"Narrative of a Journey Through Several Parts of the Province of West Florida in the Years 1770 and 1771" by, 58-90. *See* Province of West Florida
"Memford's," Miss., 313
Meridian, Miss., burning of, by Sherman, 294, 296
Confederate encampments at, 221, 223, 223, 293, 294, 340, 341, 342, 343, 352, 353, 366, 369, 370, 372
"Covington Rebels" at, 223-231
Michel, G. W., 230
Miller, Rev. F. B., 296
Military authority, discussion regarding extension of, 90-92
Miller, Jacob, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
Milloy, Dr. John, 230, 232
death of, 238
Mingo Emmitta, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 147, 148
Mingo Houma, head-man of the village of Mongulacha, complaints of, to Mease, 83, 84
speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 149
Mingo, Ouma, Red King of the Chickasaws, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 147
Mingo, Talcua, Indian chief, Mease's meeting with, 80
Mississippi, Civil War in, 233-283, 293, 344-360, 367-373
account of, in Chambers' "My Journal," 221-380
peace attitude of, 347
Mississippi Academy, beginnings of, 184, 185
financial grants to, 184, 185

Mississippi Baptist Education Commission, gift to Mississippi College by, 217
Mississippi College, change in charter of, 208
curriculum of, in the fifties, 195, 196
discussion of use of, as state normal school, 190, 191
effect of Civil War on, 199-204
effect of World War on, 214
endowment of, financial statement, 1858, 197, 198
endowment of, 1866, 200, 201
endowment of, 1889, 208, 209
faculties of, 217-220
financial condition of, after Civil War, 202-204
financial difficulties of, 1872-1876, 205-207
financial strain of, 1891, 208, 209
formation of military companies in, 213
Female Department of, 194
dropping of, 194
gift to, from American Baptist Education Society, 211
granting of charter to, 185
growth of, 1898 on, 211
history of, 184
Male Department of, 186
membership in Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 216, 217
new building campaign of, 1912, 214
papers of:
The Electric Light, 216
The Mississippi College Magazine, 216
The Mississippi College Star, 216
The Mississippi Collegian, 216
question of removal of, to Meridian, 209, 210
religious affiliations of, 188-190, 192-195, 210, 212, 217
societies in:
Hermenian Society, 215, 216
Philomathean Society, 215, 216
under Baptist domination, 192-195
under Methodist domination, 188
under Presbyterian domination, 188-192
yellow fever at, 210, 211
Mississippi College Academy, faculty of, 220
Mississippi Historical Department, work of director, 1
Mississippi-Iberville Cut, estimate of expense of, 98-99
plan proposed for, 92-98
Mississippi Indians, small tribes of, 97
Mississippi River, control of trade of, importance of, 3, 4
description of, 233
early settlements near, Chester's attitude toward, 3
gunboats on, 233, 234, 236, 237, 251
importance of, to West Florida, 171
lands adjacent to and possibilities of communication with inland lake territory, 95
with inland lakes, 95
Mississippi River country, Governor Chester's attitude toward settlement of, 7, 8
Mississippi River lands, description of, in Mease's narrative, 61-90
richness of, *see* Mease's narrative, 61, 62, 66, 67
Mississippi troops in Civil War:
1st Mississippi Battalion, 254
3d Mississippi Reg't, 235, 236
4th Mississippi Reg't, 252, 262, 264, 270, 279, 302, 304, 307, 323, 325, 350
at Port Gibson, 258
exchange of, 281
in Parole Camp, 278
6th Mississippi Battalion, 232, 245, 310
7th Mississippi Reg't, 288, 292, 298, 302, 304, 305, 315
at Cassville, Ga., 314
at Chickamauga, 279
at Corinth, 223
13th Mississippi Reg't, at Gordonsville, Va., 226
27th Mississippi Reg't, 230, 315
30th Mississippi Reg't, 339
31st Mississippi Reg't, 339
35th Mississippi Reg't, 279, 298, 302, 303, 304, 306, 307, 317, 321, 327, 334, 353, 355, 356
at Vicksburg, 250
36th Mississippi Reg't, 228, 298, 302, 304, 305, 307, 323, 356
at Meridian, 223, 224, 227
37th Mississippi Reg't, 282, 302, 347
39th Mississippi Reg't, 298, 304, 321, 344, 345, 353, 356, 358
40th Mississippi Reg't, 279, 290, 303

Mississippi troops in Civil War: 40th Mississippi Reg't in Alabama, 285
46th Mississippi Reg't, after Vicksburg, 276, 278
at Allatoona, 334-336
at Atlanta, 324-329
at Blakely, 360-362
at Camp Lee, Ala., 302-306
at Kennesaw Mountain, 319-322
at Meridian, 293, 294
at Mobile, 292, 294-302, 354-360
at Port Gibson, 257-261
at Resaca, Ga., 287-297, 337-339, 362
at Selma, Ala., 309-311
at Vicksburg, 232-255, 261-274
Co. "B," list of deaths in, 380
in Alabama, 284-287, 292, 294-311, 338, 339, 354-360, 362
in Georgia, 287-297, 314-338, 324-329, 330-339, 362
in Mississippi, 233-283, 293, 344-360, 367-373
in Parole Camp (1863), 279-283
muster roll of, 378, 379
last, Oct. 31, 1864-Feb. 28, 1865, 376, 377
roster of officers of, 375
Yazoo River expedition of, 253-255
Mitchel, Cader, 244
Mitchel, Sallie, 244
Mitchell, G. W., death of, 244
Mitchell, Thos. J., death of, 244
Mitchell, Mr., 251
Mitchell, M. J., death of, 236
Mobile, Ala., 223, 224, 284, 345, 353
Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress at, 134-160
Confederate camp at, 292, 294-302, 354-360
description of, 295
evacuation of, 296
Mease's arrival at, 90
surrender of, 367
Mobile country, description of, according to Mease, 86
Mobile road, description of, by Mease, 86
Mongulacha, Mease's visit to, 83
Monroeville, Ala., 364
Montevallo, Ala., 312
Montgomery, Ala., 292, 298, 308, 339
description of, 285
"Moonshine Creek," Ga., 318
Moors, Jacob, 303
Morris, Winston, death of, 241
Morrison, Mr., 231
Morton, Miss., 223
"Moses and the Prophets," 342
Mt. Alban, Miss., 262, 276
"Mt. Magnolia," 262
Mule meat, army, 274
Myers, Lieutenant Colonel, of 15th Confederate Cavalry, 364
"My Journal," by Pitt Chambers, 1862-May 14, 1865, 221-380

N

Napier, P. H., preacher, 369
Natchez, Mease's arrival at, 77
Natchez, settlement of, Daniel Huay before Peter Chester on, 18, 26, 27
John McIntire to Peter Chester on, 18, 25, 26
Peter Chester to Earl of Hillsborough on, 18-27
settlers at, according to Mease, 77, 78
William Dunbar's plantation near, 14
Natchez country, Chester's attitude toward early settlements in, 3
Natchez District, fixing of boundaries of, 11
Negroes as soldiers, 355, 356
"Nelson on Infidelity," 225, 229
Nelson, Major, 350
"Nemesis," 272
Neothlocko, Indian chief, at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
speech of, 109-110
New Hope Church, Ga., 337
battle at, 316, 317
New Orleans, in Civil War, fall of, 229
General Thomas at, 358
rumors of fighting at, 224
plan of attack against, Peter Chester's, 96, 97
Newton, Miss., 223
Nichols, Mr., 241
Nickajack Hills, battle at, 322
Nicolets, Mease's stay at, 71
Nixon, Dr., 231
Noakes, Captain W. N., 339
Northcutt, Miss., 305

O

Oak Bowery Church, Miss., 282, 373
Oakachitaha, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 152
Oaktibbe, Miss., 231, 293

Ochincha Mingo, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 152
Ochoha, Miss., 279
Office seekers, Civil War, 305
Ogletree, Captain, 372
Old Hickory, Miss., 221
"Old Pollard," 304
Okolona, Miss., 350, 353
Opelika, Ala., 286
Orleans, Mease's arrival at, 62, 63
Mease's return to, 66
Ouma, Baya, *See* Baya Ouma
Ouma, Cousha, *See* Cousha Ouma
Ouma of Seneacha, Captain, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 150-151

P

Pace, Captain, in 46th Mississippi Reg't, 372
Pace's Ferry, Federals at, 327
Pace, W. M., death of, 241
Palmetto, Ga., 331
Panton Leslie & Co., founding of, 12
Pardue, Dr., 342
Pardue, Lieutenant Colonel, of 7th Battalion, death of, 318, 342
Parker, Mrs., 364
Parole Camp, at Enterprise, Miss., 278-281
Parrott gun, bursting of, 271
Parton, Major, of 36th Mississippi Reg't, 342
Paulding, Miss., 282, 341, 373
Paxton's plantation, 253, 254, 255
Paya Mattaha, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 136
reply of, to Stuart at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 141
speech of, on second day of Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 142-144
Peach Tree Creek, battle at, 323, 324
Pearl River, description of, 171, 172
Pelahatchee, Miss., 223
Pemberton, Lieutenant General John C., at Vicksburg, 265
exchange of, 281
on Big Black River, 262
suspicion aroused against, 261
Pensacola, arrival of Peter Chester at, 2
congresses with Creeks at, 108-134
Mease's departure from, 58
Mease's return to, 90
Pensacola, meeting of Chiefs of upper Creek Nation at, 105-107
Peter Chester's arrival at, letter regarding, 17
preparations for defense of, Peter Chester's letter on, 34-38
prosperity of, 16
residence of General Frederick Haldimand at, 16
seat of Indian congress, 109-130
Spanish capture of, 15
Spanish menace against, 5
Perdido, description of, 173-175
Perry, Daniel, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 77
Petersburg, Va., 345
Pettus, Governor, Federal gunboats and, 234
Petty's "Mt. Magnolia," 262
Phelps, Major, 349
Phillips, Dr., plantation of, 276
Piamattaha, speech of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 137
Pickering, James, 240
Pickering, Mr. (or Pickard), 294
Pickering, Sergeant Willis, 288, 292, 361
"Pine Mountain" line, Ga., 318
Pitts, Colonel Fountain E., of 81st Tennessee Reg't, 346
"Playfair," transport, 241
Point Jackson, Ala., 364, 366
Pollard, Ala., 285, 302, 303, 304, 308
Polk, Lieutenant General, 314, 315
death of, 318
Polk's Corps, 316, 324
Porter, Adjutant James C., 252, 374, death of, 270
Port Hudson garrison, paroled, 277
Port Gibson, battle of, 257-261
Powers, J. R., 222, 229, 369, 373
Prairie, Miss., 349, 353
Prentiss, General, prisoner at Corinth, 226, 227
Prime, Alfred, baptism of, 282
Pringle, Captain, 240
Prisoners, Federal, 226, 227, 348
"Prisoners of War," 372
Privy Council, attack upon, by Edmund Burke, 2
importance of, in governing of West Florida, 2
Property, security of, Act regarding, 32
Property values in Province of West Florida, 16
Provine, Dr. J. W., acting president of Mississippi College, 210

Provine, Dr. J. W., president of Mississippi College, 213-217
Prudhomme, Michael, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78

Q

Quarles' Brigade, 301
"Queen of the West," Federal ram, 251
Quitman, Miss., 231, 278, 293

R

Raleigh, Miss., 342
"Raleigh Rangers," 229
"Rankin Farmers," 223, 229
"R. B. Taney," steamer, 339
Rations, army, 274, 304
Raymond, Miss., 276
Rea, Captain Constantine, of Co. "Q," 240, 245
  appointment of, as Lieutenant Colonel, 305
    as Major, 290, 291
  death of, 332
  sharpshooters of, 298, 301, 323
  wounding of, 323
Rea, R. N., Lieutenant of Co. "F," 237, 288, 355, 371
  wounding of, 362
Red Bluff, Miss., 293, 369
Reddock, C. M., of 7th Mississippi Reg't, 323
Reddock, J. C., death of, 224
Reddock, J. V., 222, 224, 228, 229, 236, 239, 242, 243
  death of, 334, 335
  wounding of, 320
Reddock, W. R., 237
Reddock, Wm. M., death of, 227
Regiment, staff of a, 374
Register of Births and Burials, June 24-Dec. 24, 1770, 41-43
Register of Burials, Dec. 24, 1770-June 24, 1771, 52
Register of Christenings, Dec. 24, 1770-June 24, 1771, 53
Reid, Alexander, 232
Religious life, in Province of West Florida, 7
Republicanism, 371
Resaca, Ga., 283
  Confederate camp at, 287-297, 337-339, 362
Reynolds' Brigade, 354
Richardson, Colonel, of 17th Louisiana Reg't, 260
Richardson, Misses, of Summerfield, 310
"Ripley's Notes" on "Acts," 300
River St. Catherine, description of, according to Mease, 76, 77
Rivers, Dr., 364, 366
Richmond, Va., 345
  evacuation of, 364
Roberts, Aaron, 288
Robertson, Franklin, 231, 235, 279
Robertson, Captain G. A., death of, 279
Robertson, George G., 230, 231, 235, 237, 238, 240, 241, 243, 245, 249, 255, 259, 276, 283, 284, 310, 316, 328, 334, 341
  at Vicksburg, 271
Robertson, John S., 231, 235
  at Vicksburg, 234
  death of, 246
  ill with fever, 237, 238, 240, 241
Robertson, Norwell, 276
Robertson, Richard, 241, 247
Robertson, Stephen, 222, 227, 251, 255, 256, 276, 283, 284, 316
  at Kennesaw Mountain, 320
  at Vicksburg, 271
  burial of, 326
  ill with fever, 236, 238, 239, 242, 244
  son's death, 245
Robertson, W. C., 223, 227, 305, 306, 323, 326, 327, 328, 337, 349, 350, 357, 360, 362, 363, 373
Rocky Creek, raid at, 277
"Rocky Mountains," Miss., 222
Rodgers, Josiah, 317
Rodgers, Norvel, 274
Rodgers, Z. M., death of, 330
Rodney, General Grant at, 262
Rogers, Benjamin, death of, 238
Romans, as author of "Short Description of West Florida," 183
  as chartographer, 183
  description of West Florida by, 171-183
Rome, Ga., 314
Ross, W. E., Lieutenant Colonel of 39th Mississippi Reg't, 321
Roswell, Ga., 324
Rowland, "Encyclopedia of Mississippi History" of, 13
Rowland's "Mississippi History," *re* Province of West Florida's loyalty to Great Britain during Revolution, 15
Rowlandson, Annie, 311
Rum, importation of, to Indians, 47, 48
Rutherford, Mr., preacher, 279, 280

S

Savannah, Ga., 345
Savers, Mr., of New Orleans, 367
Scooba, Miss., 343
Sears, C. W., Colonel of 46th Mississippi, Reg't, 251, 252, 281, 288, 291, 302
  appraisement of, 305
  at Dalton, Ga., 287
  at Port Gibson, 258
  at Snyder's Bluff, 255
  commissioned Brigadier General, 305
  wounding of, 314
Sears' Brigade, 316, 332, 342, 347
  arms surrendered by, 373
  at Blakely, 361
  casualties of, 343
  in Mobile (1865), 354
Self, John, 341
Selma, Ala., 307, 338, 340, 358, 364
  Confederate camp at, 309-311
  description of, 310
"Senator," steamer, 303
Sevier, John, pioneering career of, 11
Sexton, Mr., of Texas, 370
Seward, Secretary, attempted assassination of, 370
Shannon, Miss., 350
Sharpshooters, Rea's, 298, 301, 323
Shelby Springs, Ala., 313
Sheppard, W. E., preacher, 277
Sheppard, Captain, 237, 240
Sherman, General, 296, 341, 372
  devastations of, 294
  in Georgia, 345
  in North Carolina, 368
  Jonesboro advance of, 328
Shiloh, battle of, 227
Shotwell, Lieutenant Colonel, of 35th Mississippi Reg't, 369, 372
Shubuta, Miss., 284, 293, 295, 368, 369
Shupe's Brigade, 264
  at Vicksburg, 265
Sibley's Mill, Ala., 361
Simpson, John, interpreter, affidavit of, *re* Creek conference at Pensacola, 130
  at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Six Mile, Ala., 312
Sixteenth Regiment, presence of, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Sixty-first Regiment of Foot, Peter Chester in, 2
Sixty-ninth Regiment of Foot, Peter Chester in, 2
Seventy-sixth Regiment of Foot, Peter Chester in, 2
Slavery, laws regarding, in Province of West Florida, 4
Slavery, Chester's attitude towards, 4, 5
Smede's Point, Vicksburg, 234
Smith Cavalry, 252
Smith, Brigadier General M. L., 235, 237, 240, 245, 246, 248
Smith's Division, at Vicksburg, 265
  parole of, 275
"Snake Gap," Ga., 290
Snyder's Bluff, 255
Sowers, T., to Peter Chester, *re* plans for West Florida defense against Spanish attack, 36, 37
Spain, reasons for difficulty with, according to Mease, 66
  war with, possibilities of, 95-96
Spanish depredations against English, Peter Chester's letter concerning, 28, 29
Spanish fears of Indian uprisings, 102, 103
Spanish Fort, siege of, 359, 360, 361, 365
Spanish menace, letter of Peter Chester to Earl of Hillsborough on, 34, 35
Spanish occupation of Province of West Florida, 12, 13
Spanish-Indian relations, 99, 100
Speed, B. F., of "Covington Rebels," 224, 228
Speed, J. M., 239
Speed, Mr., 36th Mississippi Reg't, 225
Speed, Wm. R., 251
  death of, 255
Speights, E. L. L., death of, 255
Stanford, Lieutenant, 252
"Stars and Stripes," 233
State Line, Ala.-Miss., 293, 367
Stevenson's Division, 262
  at Vicksburg, 265
Stewart, General A. P., 324, 331, 333
  wounding of, 325
Stewart's Corps, 346, 350
Stewart, Thos., death of, 327
Stone, Lieutenant John, companion to Mease, on Natchez trip, 58
Strong, George P., association of, with Mississippi College, 186-188

St. Stephens, Ala., 366
Struthers, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Stuart, Charles, Deputy to the Superintendent of Indian affairs, 44
at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
letter to, from John McIntosh, *re* Chickasaw Nation behavior, 163-164
letter to Peter Chester, *re* Indian grievances, 46-51
work done by, in settling boundary lines agreed upon at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 158-159
Stuart, John, Agent and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern District of North America, 44, 109
as Indian agent, activities of, 8, 11
at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 134-160
speeches of, opening speech, 136
re Indian behavior, 154-156
re Indian land grants, 153
reply to the Chickasaws, 137, 139, 140, 142
at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, first speech, 112-115
second speech, 117-118
third speech, 121-123
fourth speech, 124-125
fifth speech, 125-126
concluding speech, 128-129
letter from, to Peter Chester, *re* Creek ratification and cession of lands, 131
re Indian land concessions in Province of Florida, 131
meeting of, with Chiefs of Upper Creek Nation at Pensacola, 105-107
Peter Chester's letter to, *re* approbation of Creek land cession treaty, 131
re Indian policies, 100
Peter Chester's reference to, in letter to Earl of Hillsborough, 38
in relation with the small tribes of Indians on Mississippi, 97
Stuckey, Elisha, death of, 237
Sublett, J. M., Lieutenant of "Yazoo Pickets," 227, 229, 260, 261
election of, as Captain, 237
regimental flag rescued by, 276
"Submissions," Confederate attitude toward, 347, 355
Sucarnoochee, Miss., 343
Shuqualak, Miss., 343
"Sugar Valley," Ga., 290
Suggsville, Ala., 365, 366
Sullivan, Lotan, 222, 224, 229
illness of, 228
wounding of, 271
Sullivan, Thos. J. H., 222, 229
Sullivan, W. P., 338
wounding of, 334
Summerfield, school at, 309, 310
"Swor's Springs," Miss., 220

T

Talladega, Ala., 313
Tallahala Creek, 281
Tallipousses, represented at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Tancola, Miss., 343
Tangipahoa, La., 239
Taverns, act for regulating of, 55
Taxation, acts on, 55, 56, 57
Taylor, Angus, Captain of "Gaines Invincibles," 227, 229, 369
Taylor, Bayard, in Mexico, story of, 351
Taylor, General Richard, 352, 354, 371
paroles granted by, 373
surrender of, 372
Taylorsville, Miss., 340
Tennesseeans, Vaughn's, at Vicksburg, 265
Tennessee, Army of, 332, 342, 345, 346, 347, 352
81st Tennessee Reg't, 346
Tensaw, Ala., 285, 303
Terapin Leader, report on, 163-164
Terrell, burial place of, 232
Texas troops in Civil War:
10th Texas Reg't, 358
Thigpen, Mr., 341
Thomas, General, at New Orleans, 358
Thomas, Lieutenant, Indian Commissary on the Mississippi, 97
Thompson, J. F., 230
Thomson, Richard, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 77

Tibbee, Miss., 344, 347
Tiller, G. W., 237
Tighlman, Brigadier General, death of, 262
Tilton, Ga., 291
Tipoy, Indian chief, at Creek Indian conference at Pensacola, 109
Tobacco, growing of, as described by Mease, 67
Tombecbee, description of, 172, 173, 182
Tombigbee River, Ala., 365
Torney, Major General, 281
Trade, in Province of West Florida, 12, 13
Transportation facilities, improvement of, act concerning, 57
Travers, Mr., of Brandon, 243
Treaty of Paris, territorial concessions through, 101
Trespass, on Indian lands, by white hunters, 49, 50
Trifot, settler at Natchez as listed by Mease, 78
Troops, British, disposition of, Mar. 10, 1771, 36
Province of West Florida, disposition of, report on, 36
Tunnel Hill, Miss., 223
Tupelo, Miss., 346, 347, 349
Turnage, F. D., death of, 238
Turner, S. S., 288
Tuscaloosa, Ala., 311

U

Ulmer, Frank, 281
Uniontown, Ala., 340, 365
Urner, Dr., election of, as president of Mississippi College, 197

V

Van Dorn, Major General Earl, 237
Van Wirt, Ga., 337
Vaughn's Brigade, at Vicksburg, 265
Venable, R. A., as president of Mississippi College, 209, 210
Verona, Miss., 349, 350
Vicksburg, Confederate operations near, 232-255, 261-264
city, "Covington Rebels" in, 232, 255
description of, 235
garrison, 255, 294
fever among, 235, 238, 240
furlough of, 277
siege of, 265-274
burial of dead at, 267
Vicksburg, siege of, capitulation in, 275, 284
fighting in, 266
gunboat bombardment in, 233, 234, 236, 237, 248, 249
morale of troops in, 267, 268
preparations for, 264
shortage of rations in, 273
Virginia, Army of, 369
of Northern Virginia, 369
59th Virginia Regiment, 244
Civil War in, 345
Virginians, settlements by, in West Florida, described by Mease, 72

W

Wafford's artillery, 252
Wages of Confederate soldiers, 243, 248, 256, 278, 292, 302, 356, 370, 371
Wahalak, Miss., 343
Wakefield, Captain J. H., 339
Walker, Hon. Percy, 356
"Walnut Hills," Vicksburg, 235
Walters, of Co. "C," death of, 256
Walthall's Division, 316, 350
Warbington, 321
Ward, Daniel, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Ware, J. H., 274
Warrenton, Miss., 234, 236, 256, 261, 264
Watson, John T., country place of, 276
Waynesboro, Miss., 284, 293
"Wayside Home," Selma, 338, 340, 343
Weatherford, Mr., preacher, 241
"Webb," Confederate gunboat, 251
Webb, Dr. W. S., as president of Mississippi College, 204-209
Wegg, Edmund Rush, at Choctaw-Chickasaw Congress, 135
Weir, Colonel, of 37th Mississippi Reg't, 347, 349
Welch, Jas., death of, 244
Welch, John, death of, 244
Welch, Samuel, 229
Wells, Samuel, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78
West Florida, Province of, Assembly in, 3
Bartram's report on, 7
boundary of, definition of, 11
close connection of, with home country, 4

West Florida, Province of, colonization of, plan for, 167, 168
coming of "crackers" into, 6
Council in, 3
Civil Establishment of, estimate of, 165
description of, 171-183
early religious life of, 7
expedition of Willing through, 15, 16
fish in, abundance of, 176
French settlements in, 3, 4, 9, 10
fruit trees in, according to Mease, 60
geographical location of, 171
governors of, early, 1
judicial system of, 2, 3
loyalty of, to Great Britain during Revolution, 14
Mease's report on, 7
Mississippi section, agricultural possibilities of, according to Mease's narrative, 58-90
aquatic fowl in, presence of, as described by Mease, 64, 65, 68, 70
cotton-growing possibilities of, as described by Mease, 67
French settlements in, as described by Mease, 58-90
fruit-tree, culture in, according to Mease, 73, 74, 77
game in, prevalence of, as described by Mease, 68, 69, 74, 76, 82
grain growing in, 62, 67, 79
Indian settlements in, 80, 83, 84, 86, 89
natural forests in, according to Mease's narrative, 58-90
settlements by Carolinians in, as described by Mease, 72
settlements of Virginians in, as described by Mease, 72
tobacco-growing possibilities, as described by Mease, 67
towns visited by Mease in, description of:
Mobile, 90
Manshac, 67, 68, 69, 71
Orleans, 62, 63, 66
Nicolets, 71
Natchez, 77-79
wild animal life in, according to Mease's narrative, 58-90
wild flowers indigenous to, according to Mease, 79, 80, 87
West Florida, Province of, Montfort Brown, Lieutenant Governor of, 1
natural fertility of, 177-179
Northern immigration to, 9, 12
Peter Chester as governor of, 1
Privy Council in governing of, importance of, 2
productivity of useful plants in, 176
size of, 2
slavery in, laws regarding, 4
Spanish occupation of, 12, 13, 15
Spanish settlements near, 8, 9, 10
territorial questions arising in, after Treaty of Paris, 101
timber lands in, 176
trade in, 12, 13
western parts of, fertility of, 92-98
William Dunbar's coming to, 13, 14
West Point, Ga., 286, 292
West Point, Miss., 343, 344, 346, 352
Westville, Miss., 277
Whistler, Ala., 293
White, Sergeant E. W., 316
White, Lieutenant Rufus, 288, 352, 359, 369
"Widow Magee's," Miss., 221
Wildy, Sergeant Major R. H., 307, 374
Wiles, Lieutenant, 291
Williams, Eld., missionary, 306
Williams, John, 240
death of, 266
Williams, Mr., 367
Williams, Adjutant Thos. E., 237
Williams, Willis, 225
Williamsburg, Miss., 221
Williamson, J. H., 231
death of, 261
Williamson, Sergeant J. P., death of, 334
Williams Station, Ala., 304, 363
Willing, expedition of, through Province of West Florida, 15, 16
Willow Springs, Miss., 259
Wilkes, S. H. P., 261
Wilkinson, D. L., 232, 288
Wilmington, Del., explosion at (1855), 351
Wilson, Victor F., negro quarters of, 253
Winchester, Miss., 284, 293, 368
Withers' Light Artillery, 234
Wively, settler at Natchez, as listed by Mease, 78

Y

"Yazoo Pickets," 227, 229
Yazoo River, Confederate expedition on, 253-255
Federal troops on, 248
Youngblood, William, 344
Young Men's Christian Association, 307

Z

Ziegel, Captain, of 10th Texas Reg't, 358, 369

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